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WESTERN AMERICANA

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SPECIAL TRIAL EDITION

CHAS. H. MOYER, President

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WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS OFFICIALS

NOW AWAITING TRIAL FOR THEIR LIVES

[redacted]

99L

Colo. Mining

THE
Pinkerton Labor Spy

BY

MORRIS FRIEDMAN

Published by
WILSHIRE BOOK CO.
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NEW YORK

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PUBLISHER'S PREFACE

IN placing before the reading public a work of such character as this, we feel that no special apology is needed at a time, when the system with which it deals is engaged in manipulating the prosecution of a case which promises to become a most noted landmark in the history of the United States.

Our object in publishing this work was neither to create a temporary "sensation" nor to warn the trades unions of the country against the insidious enemies in their midst. We recognize that to know every detail of the methods employed by the "secret operative" of the Pinkerton Agency in the union, is absolutely no defence against him, however interesting the knowledge may be. If there is a lesson for the trades unionist in this work, it is rather the indisputable conclusion that the emancipation of labor through purely economic effort is simply impossible.

Nor do we expect that this exposure will in the least degree tend to the elimination of the nefarious institution whose methods it uncovers. We recognize the Pinkerton Agency as an indispensable instrument to the capitalist class in the great and unceasing struggle with labor. Such institutions will of necessity last as long as our present industrial system.

We believe that the work will have its effect chiefly in opening the eyes of the public to the nature of the methods employed by the "Agency" in its efforts to convict Messrs. Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, now awaiting trial in Boise for the murder of ex-Governor Steunenberg of Idaho, and who have been recently branded as undesirable citizens by no less a person than the president of the United States. On the other hand, we believe that something may be accomplished in exhibiting to the public gaze the presumably desirable citizens who are engaged in convicting them, and who inferentially are acting with the entire approval of the chief executive of the nation.

The utmost care has been taken to authenticate and verify the documents used in this work, the author having been for many years in a position to know the inside workings of the notorious institution which he so ably exposes. We may add also for the information of those whom it may concern, that the entire stock is not exposed in the store window. The documents used are but a small part of those available.

The passing away of the present system is certain, and one of the surest symptoms of its approaching end is the fact that it is increasingly dependent upon fraud and dissimulation for a prolongation of life. These contradictions become ever more glaring as time passes, and to see the industrial position of the great mining magnates of the west compelled to depend for its existence on an institution like the Pinkerton Detective Agency is surely one of the most portentous symptoms of coming economic change.

Whatever tends to uncover the character of the buttresses upon which modern capitalism depends for support, at the same time helps to undermine the present autocratic industrial régime, and prepare the ground for an industrial era founded upon economic justice, and which requires neither fraud, conspiracy nor force for its continuance.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

ACTING on the principle that it is our sacred duty to right a wrong whenever possible—deeply concerned over a number of important events that have transpired in the Western part of our country during the past three years which tend, if unchecked, to undermine the foundations of our beloved national institutions—I have undertaken the task of writing this work, which is a true and authoritative description of the secret and inner workings of detective agencies in general, and Pinkerton's National Detective Agency in particular.

An institution which poses as a faithful and solicitous guardian of society from the aggressions of the criminal elements in order that it may the more secretly and effectively operate through cunning and intrigue against the moral and material welfare of the people is all the more dangerous because of its underhand mode of operation, the more treacherous by reason of its gross abuse of public trust and confidence, and the more infamous for seeking to cloak its shameful acts with the mantle of justice.

Pinkerton's National Detective Agency stands out pre-eminently as the dean of the many institutions of this character which infest our country. It is by far the biggest, the richest and the best organized. That it has existed and enjoyed an uninterrupted growth of prosperity and reputation for more than fifty-six years with the public kept in blissful ignorance as to the real nature of its business, is certainly a remarkable achievement of detective ingenuity.

To shed light on the inky darkness and secrecy so necessary to the success of this and kindred detective agencies, and to describe truthfully and fearlessly the workings of their governing or "Inner Circle," is the object of this work and its author.

CHAPTER I.

THE MISSION OF PINKERTON'S NATIONAL DETECTIVE AGENCY.

The detective is a very interesting personality, both because of the secret nature of his calling and the mystery surrounding his movements. However, stripped of all the glamour which fiction has so skilfully woven around his profession, he becomes another character.

It is commonly believed that it is the meritorious object of the detective to arrest those who commit crime and also to gather evidence that will help the State secure a conviction. But a proper analysis and study of the subject will demonstrate that this impression is not based upon ALL the facts in the case, and has been very profitably exploited by clever private individuals who were quick to take advantage of a public which trusted, and still trusts, them so blindly.

Allan Pinkerton, who in 1850 founded Pinkerton's National Detective Agency, was undoubtedly a very talented detective, and far above the ordinary person in foresight and intelligence. His personal exploits as a detective won fame and reputation for his agency, and shortly after the close of the Civil War, during which he served as Chief of the United States Secret Service, his superior intelligence and intimate knowledge of human nature enabled him to discover an inexhaustible gold mine in man's jealousy and suspicion of his fellow-man.

It was Allan Pinkerton who first drew the attention of employers of labor to the benefit they would derive from having detectives among their employees who would keep the firm posted as to the manner in which their employees performed their work, what the men thought and said of the management, and also whether there was any danger of a strike.

The Agency first won national fame through the operations of James McParland, one of their detectives, among the Molly Maguires in the anthracite coal fields of Pennsylvania, many of whom were hanged or sentenced to the penitentiary. This operation which the Agency concluded so successfully for their clients, and which will subsequently receive further attention, paved a truly royal road to wealth and power for the Pinkerton family, a power which now extends across the entire length and breadth of the land.

But it remained for the sons to complete the noble work begun by the father. William A. and Robert A. Pinkerton, the sons and successors of Allan Pinkerton, who died in 1884, were fully equal to the task, and under their able leadership Pinkerton's National Detective Agency has become renowned for something it might have been once upon a time, but is not now, and never can be, namely, the greatest thief-catching institution in the world.

Under the impenetrable cover of a reputation gained by a skilful and systematic misrepresentation of facts, the Agency meanwhile established and up to the time of the writing of this work has perfected a system of espionage, calumny and persecution of labor of all crafts and classes which is, if possible, even more intolerable and pernicious than the universally detested and infamous Secret Police of Russia.

Most people remember the great wave of excitement which swept the country at the time of the Homestead riots in July, 1892, where several hundred Pinkerton watchmen clashed in deadly conflict with the striking employees of the Carnegie Steel Company, there being a number of persons killed and wounded on both sides. It will also be remembered that Congress took cognizance of these disturbances, and that the

Judiciary Committees of the Senate and House of Representatives were instructed to investigate the nature and methods of the Pinkerton Agency's business.

A great number of witnesses were examined, including William A. and Robert A. Pinkerton; but it is almost needless to say that nothing of the least importance was elicited from either the Messrs. Pinkerton or anybody else which shed any new light on the secret business of the Agency. This has been the only investigation ever made of the Pinkertons, and it was absolutely barren of results.

Since 1892 the principals of the Agency have prudently refrained from furnishing watchmen for strikes, which measure had the hoped for effect of diverting an undesirable public attention from them.

After the Homestead excitement had died out, the Pinkertons sank into comparative obscurity until the Spring of 1906, when they again came prominently before the public with sensational and hair-raising charges of felonious conspiracy, murder and dynamiting against Charles H. Moyer, William D. Haywood and George A. Pettibone, respectively president, secretary and ex-member of the executive board of the Western Federation of Miners.

The fact that James McParland, the famous Molly Maguire detective, made these charges, and his bold public announcement that he had personally worked on the case and had evidence sufficient to hang these men, aroused unprecedented interest throughout the country. Organized labor, in particular, became furiously indignant at what they termed the kidnapping of the labor leaders on trumped-up charges and false confessions. In a different place we shall deal with this matter; but a description of the Agency's construction and system of operation is essential to an understanding of the history and narrative which follows.

At the death of the founder of Pinkerton's National Detective Agency in 1884, he was succeeded by his two sons, who continued the business as a co-partnership, Robert A. Pinkerton residing in New York City, and William A. Pinkerton in Chicago, each of them known by the title of "Principal."

In 1903 the Agency consisted of twelve offices located in the following cities: Montreal, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City, St. Paul, Denver, Portland (Oregon), Seattle and San Francisco. Within the last three years crime must have been fearfully on the increase, for the Agency opened new offices in Buffalo, Pittsburg, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Minneapolis, Omaha, Spokane and Los Angeles.

Each office is divided into four distinct sections known respectively as the clerical, criminal, operating and executive departments.

The clerical department usually consists of a private janitor or janitress, office boy, cashier, bookkeeper and a variable force of stenographers, all of whom are under the direct charge of a chief clerk, who is responsible to the superintendent of the office for the proper management of his department and the work of every employee under him. It is this department which keeps the accounts, typewrites the reports of the detectives, and assists the other departments in getting out the correspondence, of which there is always a great volume.

The criminal department is composed of a "Rogues' Gallery," a card index file and a number of correspondence files, all of which are usually in charge of one assistant superintendent, who handles all the criminal work and correspondence of the office in addition to considerable other work. The Rogues' Gallery contains as many photographs of criminals as can be obtained; and while no office, with the possible exception of Chicago and New York, does much criminal work, yet on the whole the Rogues' Gallery serves a useful end when a criminal operation does come up and looks well for exhibition purposes when visiting police or detective officials call. Even though criminal work is but an insignificant percentage of its business, it is but just and fair that a detective agency should at least have the semblance of a thief-catching institution; and what will lend a truer color to this fiction than a Rogues' Gallery?

The operating division is the most interesting department of the office, for it is composed wholly of detectives, or operatives.

The government of this department, and the military discipline which prevails therein at all times, as well as the secret manner of recruiting the force, are illustrative of a thoroughness and attention to detail on the part of the Agency which can scarcely be paralleled in any other business institution.

There are three kinds of operatives; namely, special, general and secret.

It frequently happens that the Agency secures a small case where a detective is required to do shadow work or make an investigation, and there is no idle operative available to take up the work. The Agency, in such an emergency, hires a man for this particular operation only, and when the work is concluded this special operative's services are at once dispensed with.

The general operative is selected with the greatest care. He must be an all-round able man, bright, intelligent, and capable of assuming any rôle, or impersonating any kind of character. He must be a man who can be relied upon to do the right thing, even in the absence of instructions from the executive department, and who will at all times act in a cool, discreet and level-headed manner.

Good general operatives are highly prized by the Agency, and when they succeed in securing one, they do their very best to retain him in their employ. Indeed, the rules of the Agency require every office to have at least two or three general operatives on the staff at all times, whether there is work for them or not.

The following incident will illustrate the work which a good general operative can perform.

About three years ago the Amalgamated Copper Company was engaged in a battle royal with F. Augustus Heinze over the possession of the Minnie Healey Mine. As the issue of the contest was very doubtful, the Amalgamated Copper Company through Capt. D. Gay Stivers, its general attorney, appealed to the Pinkerton Agency for expert assistance.

The Portland and Seattle offices of the Agency, in whose territory Butte, Montana, is located, did not have a single experienced general operative in their employ at that time. Division Manager James McParland instructed the Denver office to loan one of its general operatives to the Portland office. In compliance with these instructions, Supt. J. C. Fraser, of the Denver Agency, sent general operative J. N. Londoner.

Mr. Londoner proceeded to Butte, registered in the finest hotel in the city, and assumed the rôle of an Eastern capitalist. As he spent money lavishly, his story was credited, and in a short time the operative became a familiar and popular figure in the highest mining circles of Butte.

The operative was careful to circulate the story that he was hostile to the Amalgamated Copper Company, and in an incredibly short time he succeeded in worming himself into the confidence of Mr. Heinze's lieutenants, who thereafter did not hesitate to confide to him the nature of every move contemplated by Mr. Heinze against the Amalgamated Copper Company.

All information gained by the operative in this manner was as promptly reported by him to a secret post office box, and within less than twenty-four hours the executive officials of the Amalgamated Copper Company would be studying operative Londoner's report, and planning how to defeat the intended moves of Mr. Heinze.

While Mr. Heinze adroitly outgeneralled and defeated the Amalgamated Copper Company in this litigation, nevertheless the work of operative Londoner was very satisfactory both to the officials of the Amalgamated Copper Company and the officials of the Agency.

Since then Mr. Londoner has been promoted, and is at the present time an assistant superintendent at the Denver office of the Agency.

The appellation "secret operative" is but another name for "labor operative" or "labor spy," and the only merit attaching to the word "secret" is that it is more refined, sounds better, and looks prettier in public print.

The motto of Pinkerton's National Detective Agency is, "We Never Sleep," and the secret operative is the apple of that ever-wakeful eye, for it is the secret operative who is the main source of revenue and profit at every branch of the Agency.

No talent or skill whatever is necessary in order to become an operative of this class, and a workingman of average intelligence, who is willing to obey orders, is the one who, as an operative, gives the Agency the best satisfaction.

The reports of the secret operative as to the competency and industry of his fellow-workmen are of interest and importance to the client, as this information, which he would find it difficult to obtain otherwise, enables him to weed out such of his employees as are either incompetent or inclined to shirk.

It is the dominating policy of Pinkerton's National Detective Agency, and, consequently, the chief aim of the secret operative to prevent, if possible, the formation of a union at the plant of the client, or, if he finds a union already flourishing, to keep it in check, and to do everything in his power to disrupt it.

It is a simple matter to prevent the formation of a union; but to destroy one after it has gained a foothold is a hard and complicated proposition. Yet, the Agency's phenomenal growth in fame and power since 1892, and more particularly within the last three years, is almost entirely due to the successful accomplishment of this kind of work, and it is their boast that they have no rival or competitor who can parallel their achievements in this field.

Infinite care is exercised at all times by the officials of the Agency to preserve the incognito of the secret operative, first, because of the possible danger attendant upon discovery, and, second, because the operative is thereafter a marked man, and his usefulness to the Agency is ended.

Within a few days after his employment, the secret operative is given a number by the superintendent, and told to use that number as a substitute for his regular signature on all reports, letters and expense bills.

The superintendent of the office and his assistant superintendents are the only ones aware of the operative's name. To the clerical department which handles his accounts and typewrites his reports, and even to the client who pays for his services, the operative is known merely as a certain number.

As a further precaution, each branch of the Agency keeps a number of post office boxes rented under assumed names, and when the secret operative is ready to leave for his field of action, he is given the number of one of these secret Agency boxes, and told to address all reports to fictitious persons in care of this box.

The operative on arriving at his destination rents a post office box under his own name, and promptly sends the number to the Agency. The superintendent or assistant superintendent in charge of the operative sends instructions, salary and expense money to this box, using plain stationery and envelopes. All letters of instruction to secret operatives are written with lead pencil, but the envelope may be addressed with pen. It is a strict rule of the Agency that neither the one nor the other may be typewritten, for fear it might attract attention.

The operative is also required to have a room exclusively for himself, which makes it possible for him to write his reports and letters in strict privacy.

In this manner the secret operative holds daily communication with the Agency without attracting suspicion, and without anyone being the wiser as to the contents of the mail he sends or receives.

After the operative has secured a room and safely opened communications with the Agency, he at once applies for work at the client's plant, as a bona fide craftsman, and does his best to secure work through his own efforts. However, if after a reasonable length of time he is unable to get employment, the Agency makes a virtue of necessity, and confidentially discloses the operative's identity to the client. He is put to work without further delay.

The operative works as hard and as steadily as anyone else about the plant, and oftentimes harder, so as to set a good example. If he notices any of his comrades killing time or violating any of the firm's rules, he is sure to mention the names of the offenders in his report that same evening; or if he discovers an incompetent employee, he is likewise sure to mention the fact. It is also the duty of the operative to suggest changes or improvements in the plant that might benefit the client.

After the operative is through with his work for the day, he must make it his business to meet his fellow-employees, talk with them, "treat them to the drinks," and cultivate their friendship. By being around with the men evenings, he soon learns their attitude toward the client, and whether they are contented with conditions. If no union exists, but there are strong advocates of one, the operative reports the names of these men as "Dangerous Union Agitators," and within a few days they are discharged on some pretext.

However, if the operative finds that a union is in existence, and that many of the client's employees belong to it, his instructions are to assume the rôle of an ardent union man, join the union, and report to the client the nature of the proceedings of every meeting, and the names of all members. The client then begins to discharge his union employees on different excuses, and fills their places with non-union men. It frequently happens that the union notices the discrimination practiced and orders a strike as a last resort to save the organization.

During the progress of the strike, the services of the secret operative are more valuable than ever, for he keeps the client posted as to the strength, doings and intentions of the strikers, and this information, in nine cases out of ten, decides the victory in favor of the client, and forces the men to sue for peace on any terms.

After things quiet down and conditions again become normal, it is but good business policy for the client to retain the secret operative in his employ indefinitely, as he considers him a necessary tool in the conduct of his business.

There are some secret operatives who have been in the employ of the Agency many years, and who have become wonderfully proficient as union-breakers. In the succeeding chapters some of the actual doings of veteran secret operatives will be faithfully recounted.

The Pinkerton Agency never advertises for nor hires real detectives, for the simple reason, astonishing as it may seem, that it is never in need of such persons; and if the best detective of London, Paris or New York were to apply for a position at any office of the Agency he would be informed there was really no opening at the present time. A polite, meaningless promise might be handed out.

Whenever a criminal case comes up, it is turned over to a general operative, or if no general operative is at liberty, the superintendent or one of his assistants handles it. This arrangement therefore obviates the necessity of employing tried and experienced detectives.

Though the Agency's system of hiring new operatives insures secrecy, yet it is very simple. Let us assume that an office is in need of a new general operative. As this class of operatives is principally recruited from the ranks of salesmen, the office in question will insert an advertisement similar to the following, in every newspaper in the city:

> WANTED—A bright, experienced salesman to handle good line; salary and commission. Excellent opportunity for right man to connect with first-class house. State age, experience and references. W-276-Post.

This ad is allowed to run several days, after which one of the clerks makes a round of the newspaper offices, collects all the answers and turns them over to the superintendent. This official carefully examines each application, noting particularly the age, experience and language of every applicant. He then grades the papers on their merits as skilfully and conscientiously as any professor, after which he commissions one of his assistants to interview the applicants, and if he discovers among them one whom he thinks intelligent enough to make a competent general operative, to sound him as to his willingness to enter the service of the Agency.

As there are many salesmen who are overworked, underpaid and on the lookout for a change, the assistant superintendent's only task is to single out that applicant whose appearance and intelligence impress him most favorably; and if his selection develops into a good general operative, it is a matter of congratulation to the office.

However, to begin with, the new employee is ranked as a special operative, and it is only after he has been tried and given satisfaction on a number of operations ranging from ordinary shadow work to the most complicated investigation, that he is styled a general operative and placed in line for promotion to the Executive Department.

The secret operative is hired in the same manner as the general operative, excepting that the form of the advertisement varies so as to accord with the nature of the work. Thus, if a secret operative is wanted, who is a practical coal miner, the ad is changed to read as follows:

> WANTED at once several competent and experienced coal miners. Top wages and steady employment to good, able men. State age and experience. Z-415-Herald.

The ad, calling for several miners instead of one, appears quite natural, and precludes the barest possibility of arousing suspicion in the most watchful quarter.

The assistant superintendent detailed to "sound" a prospective secret operative, until morally certain of his man, exercises the utmost discretion. At the best it is a difficult mission to propose perjury and treason to a man, yet this is exactly the nature of the proposition which the Pinkerton representative offers the coal miner, the mechanic or any other prospective secret operative, for he asks him in carefully chosen, honeyed words to swear allegiance to an industrial union of his trade, and to violate his oath by betraying the union's secrets and doing his best to destroy it.

It often happens that four out of five men interviewed reject the Agency's offer, and the fifth who is willing to accept is either illiterate or otherwise undesirable, so that it takes days, and sometimes weeks, before the Agency succeeds in getting a man.

Contrary to popular belief, the Agency does not pay high salaries to any class of operatives. The special and general operative gets a salary rarely if ever exceeding fifteen dollars a week when working in the city where the office is located; and when detailed on work outside the city, he is allowed, besides, his living and travelling expenses.

The secret operative necessarily receives a better salary, as he can earn more than fifteen dollars a week, by simply working at his trade. The Agency therefore pays him the sum of eighteen dollars a week, and in addition compels the client to pay all his living and incidental expenses. In this way the secret operative can, if he is economical, save his entire salary. But all of the money which the operative earns as a result of his work at the client's plant, is credited to the account of the client, the operative not being permitted to keep any of it for himself.

In short, the secret operative sells his honor and the interests of his brothers for eighteen dollars a week, net.

CHAPTER II.

THE METHODS OF PINKERTON'S NATIONAL DETECTIVE AGENCY.

The executive department in charge at one office or grand division of the Agency is the exact counterpart of the administrative personnel at any other branch and is admirably constructed to handle, supervise and develop the business.

The executive staff of an office consists of a superintendent, and as many assistant superintendents as are required to manage the volume of business transacted.

It is one of the principal duties of the executive officials to revise the reports of the operatives preparatory to their being typewritten and forwarded to the different clients, as many reports, particularly those received from secret operatives, are, owing to the neglected or limited education of the writers, almost unintelligible. An office which employs about thirty operatives is usually equipped with an executive staff of five persons; one superintendent and four assistants. Thus, each executive official has charge of five operatives whose reports he must revise.

While it is certainly necessary to correct and rearrange an ungrammatical, mis-spelled report, yet, as it is hardly possible that five officials are employed to do work which is purely clerical, and which can easily be performed by one well-educated person, we must surmise that there is something deeper in the revision of a report than is superficially apparent, and our inference is correct as we shall see presently.

The daily report of a secret operative costs a client at least ten dollars, and it is but natural for the client to insist on getting such information as will warrant the continuance of the operative's services.

The secret operative who is but a novice, and even the veteran, is essentially a workingman, and retains all the characteristics of one. The new operative may make mistakes by being officious, over-zealous or lazy, while the veteran is likely to commit a blunder by being careless or over-confident. Both are apt to say or do something, at any time, which might endanger the success of the operation, and entail the loss of a valuable client.

A secret operative must be on terms of friendship and confidence with his fellow-employees, in order to obtain the information desired. He must act naturally in all things, so that his comrades will see in him a fellow-workingman with common likes and dislikes, and a trustworthy brother whose hopes and interests are identical with their own.

Occasionally the Agency is fortunate enough to secure the services of a secret operative who is a model; but the average operative is a positive trial from the day he enters the service until he resigns or is discharged. He is always doing something foolish or imprudent, and is a constant source of anxietv to the Agency.

The chief trouble with the secret operative is, his disinclination to work at his trade, although his doing so is of paramount importance to the success of the operation, and wards off the danger of arousing suspicion as to his real identity. The operative's propensity to loaf is mainly due to the fact that he is not permitted to retain the fruit of his labor, which is credited to the client, but must be content with the salary he receives from the Agency and the extra allowance from the client to cover his living and other expenses.

It also happens that a secret operative, in his fear of detection, particularly while working against a union, impersonates the union agitator and trouble-breeder so very naturally that the client becomes alarmed and threatens to discontinue the work.

It should also be borne in mind that as a general rule the secret operative is located in some railroad town or mining camp, often at a great distance from the Agency, where he cannot be safely visited and instructed by an assistant superintendent except in a case of extreme necessity.

Yet, on the whole, the Agency experiences but little difficulty in overcoming these seemingly serious obstacles. The operative himself furnishes the Agency with the means that enable the official in charge to rule him with an iron hand, and to guide him intelligently and safely along the dangerous path of treason and dishonor. The means in question is simply the operative's daily report.

The assistant superintendent does more than merely revise the operative's daily report. He analyzes and studies it. The report tells him when the operative rose in the morning, whether he worked at the client's plant during the day, what time he quit work, when he had his supper, whether he spent the evening trying to obtain information, what time he retired, how much money he spent, and what for. The report further tells how the client's employees worked during the day, gives the name of every man whom the operative spoke with during the evening, the nature of the talk, and its exact time and place. If a union meeting occurred, the report must contain a complete and detailed account of the meeting.

The assistant superintendent records the names of the operative's friends and fellow-workingmen, and studies their characteristics. He studies the conditions which prevail at the scene of the operation, and in a short while is as thoroughly familiar with everything transpiring in the town or camp as is the operative himself.

If the assistant superintendent receives an unsatisfactory report, he at once writes the operative a sharp note pointing out the omission or the nature of the mistake, and warns him against a repetition of the offense. If the official notices that the operative is inclined to loaf, he promptly calls him to account; and if the operative's reports show that in his fear of detection he is overdoing his part—speaking and acting too radically—a soothing letter is at once sent him, showing him that his fears of detection are groundless and more apt to be realized by playing an extreme part than by acting naturally. Letters of criticism and instruction are sent almost daily to the operative.

In addition to acting as a check upon the operative, the latter's daily report serves as an excellent excuse for the Agency to interfere in the management of the client's business to a far greater and more harmful extent than has ever been dared by any labor union. And this baleful interference is so shrewdly accomplished that the client, far from resenting it, actually considers himself under great obligations to the Agency.

And he surely has reason to be grateful; for, in addition to the regular reports of the operative, he receives about once a week a neatly arranged summary of the operative's reports, which embodies suggestions and recommendations from the Agency.

The summary is compiled by the assistant superintendent, and as a rule is an interesting document. It is often a choice bit of realistic art. It gives, first of all, the names of those men whom the operative has reported as "Dangerous Union Agitators," and suggests in what manner they should be discharged, so that their dismissal cannot be laid at the door of the operative. In the second place, the summary impresses upon the client the necessity of continuing the services of the operative if he would safeguard his interests from the aggressions of a union and protect his person and property from criminal conspiracies.

At times the assistant superintendent does a truly meritorious and charitable act by recommending improved ventilation, or the purchase of new tools and machinery. However, when suggesting improvements of this kind, the Agency endeavors to prove to the client that the benefits accruing would more than compensate for the expense. The summary concludes by advising the client to wage an unrelenting war against unions and unionism, and assuring him of the Agency's hearty support in this worthy cause.

And many a client has such faith in the Pinkerton Agency that in time he does not discharge an employee or install an improvement until advised to do so by the operative or the assistant superintendent.

Were this the extent of the Agency's encroachments, it is possible that some excuse might be advanced; but it is guilty of one sin for which no apology may be offered. This is the Agency's constant endeavor to prevent the settlement of industrial conflicts by arbitration, by urging its clients to stand firm in their hostile attitude toward labor, and assuring them that ultimately they will be the victors. The justice or injustice of Labor's demands does not appeal to them; the immense losses of their clients do not worry them; and the suffering of the public does not interest them.

It is doubtful whether the Agency would have ever acquired the power it now possesses were it not for its peculiar system of canvassing for new business. And the Agency, it should be clearly understood, does not believe in waiting with folded hands for crimes to occur in order to get busy; instead, it hustles for business much the same as does any other progressive commercial institution. The only difference is, that the Pinkerton Agency does not hire special canvassers, but compels its talented assistant superintendents, superintendents and division managers, in addition to their other work, to go out and hunt for new business. So stringent is this rule, that an official, if he would retain his position, must do some canvassing each week; and that official who secures the most new work, is the one who ranks highest in the estimation of the general management of the Agency.

The Agency's system of canvassing is a striking refutation of its arrogant claims to leadership in the detective fraternity; and the closer we examine into its methods of obtaining business, the more repulsive does the institution appear to us.

While the methods employed at any one office of the Agency are identical with those at any other office, yet, in order to get down to specific facts, we will use the Denver office as a particular example of the Agency's manner of handling and developing the business.

Denver is the capital of Colorado, the metropolis of the entire Rocky Mountain region, and, besides, is famed as a wonderful health resort. The various activities and industries of the Rocky Mountain States are clearly reflected in the rapid growth in size, wealth and power of this remarkable inland city.

The main industry of Colorado is mining. This industry is divided into two different classes, namely, metalliferous mining and coal mining; and while the State has been principally famous for its vast gold output, nevertheless untold wealth has already been extracted from the almost inexhaustible coal deposits.

The Cripple Creek district, situated in Teller County, ranks first among the gold-producing camps of the State and the country, and is also one of the greatest gold-yielding camps in the world. The following are some of the biggest gold mines in the Cripple Creek district: The Portland, Stratton's Independence, Gold Coin, Last Dollar, Strong, Gold King, Golden Cycle, El Paso, Vindicator, Ajax, Mary McKinney, Isabella, Elkton, Gold Sovereign, Findley, Anaconda, Theresa, Modoc and Wild Horse.

The two chief cities in the district are Victor and

Cripple Creek, the latter city also being the county seat of Teller County.

The Telluride District, located in San Miguel County, is also an important gold camp; the Tom Boy, Smuggler Union, and Liberty Bell being the biggest mines in this district. Telluride, the county seat and largest city in San Miguel County, also plays an interesting part in the study of the "only and real Inner Circle."

The immense production of ore has been the means of building up the great mill and smelting industry, so that at the present time Colorado has some of the finest ore-reduction plants in the world. The largest of these plants are located in Leadville, Denver, Pueblo, Florence and Colorado City. However, these mills and smelters do not treat all the ore that is broken in Colorado, as some of the largest properties are equipped with private reduction plants.

With the exception of these private and independent smelters, the rest of the smelting and ore-refining industry is in the firm grip of as vicious a trust as any that distress and plague our country; and it is to this mill and smelter trust that Colorado is to a great extent indebted for the many woes and trials it has suffered since 1903. But, as the doings of this trust will be fully aired in another place, we will continue with the description of things of more immediate concern.

Colorado's coal industry is next in importance to the production of gold and silver. The coal mined is chiefly bituminous, and almost the entire output is controlled by three great companies. The northern coal fields, in Boulder County, are owned and operated by The Northern Coal & Coke Company; and the great mines situated in the southern part of the State in Las Animas County, are owned by The Victor Fuel Company and The Colorado Fuel & Iron Company; the latter company also operating great smelters, steel works and foundries in the City of Pueblo, Colorado.

While there are any number of labor organizations in Colorado, nevertheless, as may readily be imagined, those of importance are the miners' unions.

The quartz miners and smelter employees, as a general rule, are members of local unions affiliated with the Western Federation of Miners, while the coal miners, or rather, those coal miners who dare to belong to a union, are members of locals under the jurisdiction of the United Mine Workers of America.

The Western Federation of Miners is by far the more aggressive of these two great unions, and is recognized as the leading labor organization in the West. Its energetic aggressiveness has resulted in greatly improved working conditions, shorter hours and increased pay to every quartz miner, mill and smelter employee in the West.

The United Mine Workers of America, as an organization, is as a whole larger than the Western Federation, but its ultra-conservatism borders on the torpor born of extreme timidity, and in no way does it resemble its sister union in vigor, energy and indomitable courage.

The readiness of the Western Federation to resent the smallest encroachments on the rights of its humblest members, the generalship displayed by the organization in its struggles with different mine owners, and the fearless and vigorous campaigns of organization carried on by the Federation, have naturally aroused the fear and apprehension of mine owners; and these fears have been studiously fanned into flames of blind and furious hatred by Pinkerton's National Detective Agency, in the endeavor of the latter institution to obtain business. At the present time in many parts of the West we find Capital openly or secretly engaged in a bitter struggle with the Western Federation of Miners, to the satisfaction and immense profit of the Pinkerton Agency.

The Agency was the first to notice the activity of the Federation, and the great financial possibilities which might be realized by engaging in a prolonged struggle with it.

But it is perhaps a mistake to say the Agency, for it was, more properly speaking, James McParland, of Mollie Maguire notoriety, whose sharp glance first took jealous note of the rapid growth of this labor union; and he it is who, from the inception of the organization to the present day, backed by all the invisible might of the Agency, has directed a war of extermination against the Western Federation of Miners, and in doing so is even more responsible than the mill and smelter trust for the shame, disgrace and troubles which for three years have been the burden of Colorado.

Mr. McParland, while still only superintendent of the Denver office, must have found by personal experience on his canvassing trips, that the mine owners of Colorado were not over-enthusiastic about employing Pinkerton operatives, as they were contented with the work of their men, and did not care the snap of the [illegible] whether the men belonged to a union. The mine owners were making millions, and cheerfully acquiesced in the payment of the wage scale demanded by the union.

Finding that the ordinary arguments did not avail, Mr. McParland began to cast about for some means whereby he might influence the mine owners into giving the Agency work; and as Mr. McParland is a resourceful man, he soon found a means which suited the Agency's purpose so well that it is still being used by him and all other Pinkerton officials in the West as an invincible argument in canvassing for business.

The means in question was the placing of the murderer's mark of Cain upon the forehead of every member of the Western Federation of Miners, and then demonstrating that this band of cut-throats was directed by a secret INNER CIRCLE composed of the head officers of the Federation, by laying every case of theft, accident, arson, murder, and mine explosion in any and every mining camp in the West at the door of the Western Federation of Miners in general, and of this Inner Circle in particular.

Charges of this kind, made by a famous detective like James McParland and by other officials of the Pinkerton Detective Agency, naturally threw a great number of mine owners into a frenzy of fear and anger at the thought that they might have such a dangerous class of outlaws in their employ, and that their lives and property were constantly menaced by a mysterious, blood-thirsty Inner Circle, at the head of a band of ruffians and dynamiters, parading before the community as an innocent labor union.

Every prominent labor union in Colorado has likewise been maligned, vilified and persecuted by the Agency to a degree scarcely credible. Suffice it to say at this time that the Denver office has within the last three years done as much, and at times even more business than five other offices of the Agency combined.

Manager McParland, the inventor of the world-famous Inner Circle, doubtless in time actually deceived himself into believing the product of his fancy to be a substantial reality.

However, irrespective of the exact state of Mr. McParland's mind, and regardless of the outcome of his struggle with the Western Federation of Miners, the undisputed fact remains that there is a body of men employed by the Pinkerton Agency who, for hire, have plotted, and still conspire against the public welfare and peace; who have assisted and still aid and abet the tyrannical corporations in their attempts to rob the laborer of his rights as an American citizen; who are ever inciting employer and employee to warfare when both are anxious for peace; who are a public menace while masquerading as a public necessity; who know no shame, honor, nor pity.

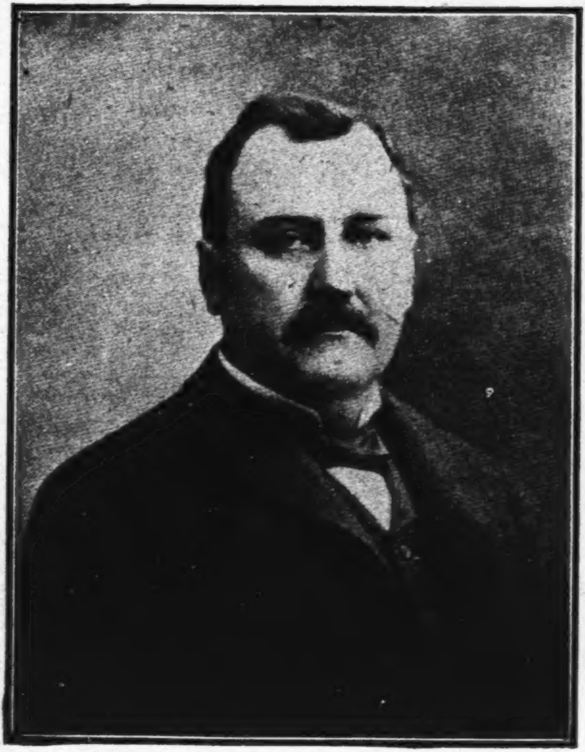
This body of men comprises the assistant superintendents, superintendents, general superintendents, division managers, assistant general manager, general manager and principals; in short, the entire executive personnel of Pinkerton's National Detective Agency.

The assistant superintendents come together each afternoon between the hours of five and six in the superintendent's office, where, presided over by the superintendent, they go through the formality of taking "time." In its simplest sense, taking time would merely mean charging each client with the regular per diem of the operative in his employ; but taken in its broader sense, and as understood at the Agency offices, taking time has a deeper import.

In addition to charging each client with the time of the operative working for him, each assistant reports to the superintendent how the operatives in his charge are getting along, and whether or not their work is satisfactory. In this way the superintendent is kept posted daily on the doings of every operative working out of his office.

Besides this daily system of reporting verbally to the superintendent, each assistant, once every two weeks, dictates to a stenographer a summary of the work of each operative under him for the period, together with a full account of what canvassing he did during the time covered by the report. The superintendent, likewise, dictates an account of his canvassing, and also reports fully on the work of each and every operative under his especial charge.

This report, which is commonly known as the General Business Letter, contains between sixty to sixty-



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five closely typewritten pages. Appended to this report is a typewritten financial statement of the bookkeeper, giving a complete account of the income, expense, profit or loss for the period, and also stating the amount of cash on hand in the bank. Three copies are made of the General Business Letter. The original goes to the manager of the division, one carbon copy to the general manager at New York, and the last copy is kept on file at the office making the report.

The division manager, on receiving a General Business Letter, studies it carefully, and in a day or two dictates what is known as his "Comments" on it. He refers to each operation, commends or criticizes the work of the operative and the official in charge, as each case demands. Here and there he offers suggestions, and gives instructions.

After the division manager has studied and commented on the General Business Letter of every office in his division, he draws up a division business letter, wherein he shows the financial standing of each office under his charge. The financial summary is followed by a careful synopsis of the most important operations in progress at the different offices, accompanied by a critical review of the work of the various operatives and the assistant superintendent or superintendent in charge. Operations against the Western Federation of Miners or any other large and powerful labor union receive particular attention, and are the subjects of special remarks, plans and suggestions by the division manager in his business letter, which is sent personally to the general manager.

George D. Bangs, the general manager, is the practical head of the Agency, as the Messrs. Pinkerton have great confidence and faith in him, and very seldom, if ever, alter a ruling or decision made by him.

The reading of the voluminous general business letters, including the comments of the division managers and their semi-monthly personal reports, is but a part of the work and responsibility of the general manager, who, it is true, is helped in his work by a staff of assistants. The general manager, after reading over the different reports and business letters, either approves or disapproves of the plans and suggestions of the division managers; but ordinarily the recommendations of the managers are so well calculated to consummate the ends desired by the Agency that the general manager endorses everything they have to offer.

Every operation directed against prominent labor unions receives his particular attention, and in common with the division managers his chief aim and endeavor is to devise ways and means whereby the operatives can most effectively handicap, paralyze and destroy those labor organizations against whom the Agency has been hired to battle.

The general manager conveys his ideas and instructions to the division managers by means of personal letters. The division officials, on receipt of the general manager's letter of advice, immediately transmit instructions to the various superintendents. These officials communicate the will of the division and general managers to the different assistant superintendents, and the latter officials hasten to instruct the individual operatives.

Messrs. Wm. A. and Robert A. Pinkerton, the principals, are kept posted by General Manager Bangs as to everything of note transpiring in the Agency; and in case a matter of extreme importance turns up, the principals are consulted in advance of any action being taken. No increase in salary becomes effective, no appointment to an executive position is valid, nor can any executive official of the Agency be discharged without the written orders of the principals.

The Messrs. Pinkerton spend much of their time visiting the different offices on tours of inspection.

In this way the wheels of the Agency keep smoothly revolving, gain additional force and momentum with the lapse of time, and harmoniously co-operate one with the other in the work of fighting labor and amassing a fortune for the Pinkerton family.

CHAPTER III.

NO. 5, A. H. CRANE.

The conscientious work of a Pinkerton labor spy, who had just helped to start a strike, is shown in the following:

Dear Sir:—

OPERATIVE NO. 5 REPORTS:

Colorado City, Colo., Wed., Feb. 18, 1903.

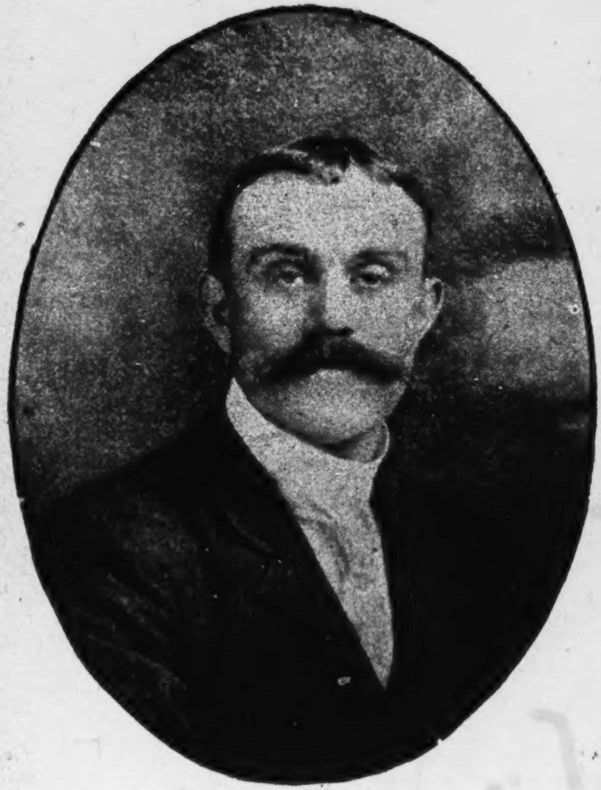
At 9.00 A. M. Sanger came and called me out and said that he heard there was a car-load of Italians going to be shipped here to-day, and asked me what I thought best for him to do, and I said I did not just know what would be best, but he could send a few men to see them when they got off the train. He then told me he had sent two men to each depot. He then left.

I went to see Moyer and Mangon, and there I met Mr. Burr, from Leadville, who has come down to take charge of the strike. We talked a few minutes. I left and went to get something to eat, and while in the restaurant two or three different union men came after me to make out applications for them.

At 10.00 A. M., I left the restaurant and went with Sanger to fix out the applications. Moyer told me the electricians and blacksmiths had quit, so it would make things a little more difficult for the Standard Mill to work. He said if we continued to keep on the way we were doing, the Standard would have to go down. We then obligated four members, after which I left the room and went on the street and stood around with the men until about 11.30 A. M., when I went into the Alamo Club. I met Sanger and other union men, and they all seem to think that the men will win the strike.

About 12.00 o'clock I left the club and took a walk around the different places where the union pickets are stationed, and found everything very quiet indeed, and returned to town about 12.45 P. M., when I went to dinner.

At 1.15 P. M. I saw Sanger. He said he had a bond for Charles Lewis, and wanted someone to sign it so as to get him out of jail, so we then hunted around and found J. Hill and Swartz, and they signed it by just writing their names



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on the back. When I gave it to the Justice, he said it was no good signed that way, which I knew, but said nothing to Sanger.

I then left the Justice's office and had a little talk with Mr. Hawkins, then went to the D. & R. G. Depot to see the union men who were watching the trains, but found none there, so stayed around a little while, when Richerson, Garrison, Howard and two other union men came. I talked a few minutes to them, and about 3.00 P. M. left them and took car for Colorado City, where I met L. N. Edwards. He said he had some good news for us, and that Mr. Fullerton, of the Telluride Mill, wanted to have a talk with Moyer and the other officers of the union and try and fix matters up. Edwards said Mr. Fullerton said he did not want to discharge any union men, and would not, as he thought it would be best if all the men belonged to the union, and he did not want any of the union men to think he was connected with Mr. Hawkins or any of those companies, and would not have a thing to do with them. Edwards then left me.

I met Sanger, who told me I had better take a trip around and see how the boys were getting along, which I did with two other men from the Building Trades Council. We went to the big pump on Sixth street, and then across the company's ground past the old mill to the road which leads to the Avenue. We saw no one on the way until we got to the M. T. Railway switch which leads to the sampler. There I talked with the company's watchmen. I said to them, "You are not doing much looking around when you let men walk across the company's ground, and strikers at that." They did not say much to me, so I went across the tracks to where the union men were sitting. I talked a few minutes with them, but learned nothing from them, and left them and went to town. There I met Dowse, Sanger and several others. They asked me how things were, and I said, all right. We then all went to the Alamo Club and had the treats together.

At 6.00 P. M. we all left for supper, after which at 6.45 P. M. I met Garrison, Henderson, and several union men. We talked together until about 7.15 P. M., when I went to my room and got my books, and at 7.30 P. M. I went to the meeting. There were about 150 or 200 in attendance, with all the new members. Fifteen were taken in the first time, and thirty-one the next time, so it made quite a few new members.

After we got them fixed out all right, Mangon made a little talk to the boys, and told them to work as they had the past two days, and then he did not think we would have to call out the Cripple Creek miners, but if we could not stop the Standard Mill, they surely would call out the miners. Mangon said he would leave us in the morning, and would visit each union at the camp, and tell them how we are fixed, but he did not need to tell them anything, as it was all left to the District No. 1. He then sat down.

Burr then made a little talk and asked the President to pick out a strike committee of five men. He picked out *A. H. Crane, H. L. Sanger, Tom Daniels, C. Lyons and J. H. Hill as the committee, and asked each and every member to do as the committee told them. Three men were picked out as captains to look after the different shifts of pickets.

The next thing taken up was about Mr. Western, the Superintendent of the Telluride Mill. The men want him removed from the works, and are going to present a bill against him at the Trades Council after the 25th, so as to have the trouble come all together, as several men consider him unfair to organized labor.

About 11.45 P. M. we left the hall. I first took my books to my room, and then took a walk around, but found everything very quiet indeed. I then came back to the restaurant and had a little lunch, then went to my room, and at 2.30 A. M. discontinued for the night.

Yours respectfully, ...

The above report of secret operative A. H. Crane, more commonly known at the Pinkerton office as No. 5, like many other reports of a similar character, was sent to Mr. J. D. Hawkins, superintendent, and Mr. Charles M. MacNeill, vice-president and general manager of the United States Reduction & Refining Company, popularly believed to be a part of the smelter trust, and numbering among its valuable possessions the great Standard Mill, the largest ore-reduction plant in Colorado City.

Four days previous to the date of No. 5's report, given above, Mill & Smeltermen's Union No. 125 of

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* The reader will note that Operative Crane heads the committee appointed by the union to manage the strike on the smelter.

the Western Federation declared a strike on the Standard Mill. The press reported the event as a passing occurrence, and the public scarcely paid any attention. Yet, as the inauguration of this strike was to a great extent the result of No. 5's work, and had such far-reaching effects, a little inquiry into the causes will be interesting as well as instructive.

Charles M. MacNeill, vice-president and general manager of the U. S. Reduction & Refining Co., is primarily responsible for the occurrence of the trouble at Colorado City, consequently for the great Cripple Creek strike, and, to say the least, is a very peculiar and much-talked-of man. Worshipped by the rich as a demi-god, execrated by labor as an arch-fiend. Who is right? What kind of a man is MacNeill?

Judging him by his actions, we should say that Mr. MacNeill must be a twin brother of Mr. Baer, of Pennsylvania. The attributes of the one are characteristic of the other. Mr. MacNeill is a typical American trust magnate, and serves as a good example of what the American people may some day have to face, if men of this stamp are not checked in their mad career. He is naturally a strong-willed man, and probably owes his success to this quality. But success turned his head and petrified his heart, so that in the course of time he has succeeded in imitating to perfection the brutality of a savage African slave-driver.

This brief description of Mr. MacNeill will render intelligible the events leading up to the strike at Colorado City, and the complications resulting therefrom.

Prior to the trouble at Colorado City, the lot of the mill and smelter employee was deplorable. Mercilessly over-worked, underpaid, driven by a harsh taskmaster by day, watched by lynx-eyed Pinkerton operatives by night; ill clad, half starved and roughly denied his constitutional rights, the smelterman of Colorado was indeed an object calculated to inspire even a stone with pity.

But since our American trust managers either have no hearts, or hearts harder than stone, the miserable condition of his employees produced no softening effect on Manager MacNeill. On the contrary, suspecting that his men might endeavor to organize for their mutual protection, he secured the services of No. 5 from the Agency for the express purpose of preventing any such move. The operative was given work in the Standard Mill as a bona fide smelterman, and succeeded in a short time in gaining the confidence of his fellow-workmen.

Some time during August, 1902, an agent of the Western Federation of Miners visited Colorado City, and secretly organized a local known as Mill & Smeltermen's Union No. 125. Fortunately for this newly-formed organization, No. 5 was not among the charter members. If he were, the union would have been nipped in the bud. However, as the leaders in the union movement were anxious to strengthen the organization, a number of Mr. MacNeill's employees were quietly approached and induced to join the union. No. 5, owing to the good reputation he bore among the men, was also approached, and after pretending to hesitate and consider the matter, he finally joined the union.

The Agency and Mr. MacNeill were disagreeably surprised, and even somewhat alarmed, when they discovered that the employees had successfully stolen a march on them. Mr. MacNeill was quick to see the danger of allowing the union to flourish unmolested, and he instructed the Agency to furnish him the names of employees who had had the effrontery to join the union. Since No. 5 was a member in good standing, the Agency found no difficulty in complying.

Mr. MacNeill then commenced to discharge every employee whom No. 5 designated, and when some of the men wanted to know why they were discharged, he told them openly and boldly that he discharged them simply because they had joined the Mill Men's Union. The discharged employees, filled with resentment against Mr. MacNeill and his methods, managed to obtain work at other plants in Colorado City, and not only retained their membership in the union, but induced many employees of other mills and smelters to become members.

Toward the end of 1902, No. 5 was elected secretary of the union, and given charge of the organization's books and papers. The Agency and Mr. MacNeill were jubilant, for now the operative could not only provide them with a complete membership list, but would also furnish them with copies of the local union's correspondence with Federation headquarters. No. 5 did all he was told to do.

During February, 1903, Mr. MacNeill decided to annihilate the union by a crushing blow; and he discharged about twenty-three union employees at one time, unceremoniously telling them the reason for their dismissal. This wholesale attack filled the union with consternation, and almost had the effect hoped for by Mr. MacNeill. But he and the Agency reckoned without the Western Federation of Miners.

So soon as the national officers of the Federation received notice of the doings of MacNeill, President Charles Moyer hastened to Colorado City, consulted with the disheartened members and officers of the union, and infused new life and courage by assuring them of the support of the Miners' Federation.

Mr. Moyer delegated a committee to call on Mr. MacNeill to induce him to reinstate his discharged employees and to cease discriminating. Mr. MacNeill received the committee, told them he needed no advice or assistance from anybody as to how he should conduct his business, and then courteously dismissed them.

Without loss of time, Mr. Moyer ordered the union to declare a strike on the Standard Mill, beginning with Saturday night, February 14th, 1903, and told the men they would be liberally supported with money and all the necessaries of life by the Western Federation of Miners.

The news that a strike was to be declared on the Standard Mill spread like wildfire. Some men felt timid, but the great majority welcomed the struggle with joy and thanksgiving. Why should they avoid it? What could they lose? Were they not starving? Were they not living in tents instead of houses? Were they not deprived by a hundred schemes of the niggardly wages they did receive? Were they not worked harder than beasts of burden, and treated worse? Had they not been discharged for forming a union that might safeguard their interests, and had not Mr. MacNeill contemptuously spurned all offers of arbitration and conciliation?

By Saturday night, February 14th, 1903, the men were unanimously in favor of a strike, and Mill & Smeltermen's Union No. 125 declared the Standard Mill unfair, and requested all men working in or about the smelter to quit work and join the union. Many employees heeded the call, and in a few days the union counted between 250 and 300 members.

As will be noted in No. 5's report for the 18th of February, Mr. Burr, of Leadville, was appointed to take charge of the strike, and in addition, a strike committee of five men was appointed with No. 5 heading the list.

Mr. Burr picketed the Standard Mill so effectively that no one could enter or leave the plant without running into some of his pickets, who persuaded many men to join the union. For about a week or ten days the situation in Colorado City remained unchanged. Manager MacNeill still blandly insisted that he had nothing to arbitrate.

No. 5 had been instructed, from the day the strike began, to phone Supt. Hawkins once each day from some point in Colorado Springs, telling him if any steps of importance were in contemplation by the union. In this way Mr. Hawkins would be in a position to thwart the union's plans, whereas, if he waited for the operative's report, two or three days' valuable time would be lost.

Therefore the operative made daily trips to Colorado Springs, and spent considerable time talking over the 'phone. As the operative was secretary of the union, and an influential member of the strike committee, he was naturally well known to all the men; it was this very prominence which proved his undoing.

Some of the men began to note the daily trips, and a few followed No. 5 and noticed that he talked a great deal over the telephone. As the same thing occurred day after day, the men began to suspect there was something wrong, and in order to satisfy themselves invaded the operative's room at Colorado City, where they found more evidence than they needed; yet, so careful was the operative, that despite a number of papers which the union men found, he could not be connected in any way with the Pinkerton Agency. All he could be accused of was, that he was a paid spotter of Messrs. Hawkins and MacNeill.

When No. 5 returned to his room, he saw at a glance that the game was up, and hurriedly began to pack his belongings for flight. A number of union men who had been watching him entered his room, and told him he was wanted at the union hall. He attempted to remonstrate, but to no avail. He was marched to the union hall amid the hooting and execration of the people, and brought to trial.

The operative vehemently protested his innocence, but the evidence of his guilt was so clear that personal violence would have surely been offered him by the enraged smeltermen, had not Mr. Burr and a few other leaders interfered in his behalf. The union then expelled No. 5, marched him to the depot in a body, and told him to go.

The exposure of the operative made a great stir. When No. 5 arrived in Denver he was met by representatives of the press whom he told of the cruel way he had been mistreated at Colorado City, and protested all the while that he was absolutely innocent. The Pinkerton Agency also published formal statements in the Denver press, denying the operative's connection with the Agency, and saying among other things that they had never known of any such man as A. H. Crane.

Yet, while the public was reading the accounts in the press, No. 5 was recovering from the mortification of his exposure in a back room of the Pinkerton Agency, in the Opera House Block, Denver. As his exposure had rendered him useless to the Agency in this territory, he was in a few days transferred to the Chicago office.

The following story will prove conclusively the relations which existed between A. H. Crane and Pinkerton's National Detective Agency.

After the operative was exposed at Colorado City, he was loaned to the Chicago office, for a mining operation in Kentucky.

While he was thus engaged, the Denver Agency received a letter from General Manager MacNeill of the smelter trust, containing a sealed envelope addressed to the operative. Mr. MacNeill's letter requested the Agency to forward the sealed envelope to Operative Crane. Complying with this request, the Denver office sent the sealed letter to Chicago, and this office forwarded it to the operative along with other mail.

On opening the envelope, all the operative found was a fifty-dollar bill. As there was no explanation, he presumed it was expense money, and charged himself accordingly.

At the conclusion of the operation the operative settled his accounts with the Chicago office on the basis that this fifty-dollars was expense money, without the office tumbling to the error.

During the time the operative was at work in Kentucky, Superintendent J. D. Hawkins of the Standard Mill met Assistant Superintendent Cary of the Denver Agency twice, and asked the latter on each occasion whether Mr. MacNeill's letter had been delivered to the operative. Mr. Cary informed Mr. Hawkins that the letter in question had been sent to Chicago, and undoubtedly that office had forwarded it to him.

Some time thereafter Operative Crane returned to Denver, and met Supt. Hawkins on the street. Mr. Hawkins asked him if he had received a letter from Manager MacNeill. The operative said, no. Mr. Hawkins told Crane that Manager MacNeill had sent him a fifty-dollar bill in a sealed envelope. To this the operative replied, "Well, I got a sealed letter with a fifty-dollar bill in it, but I supposed it was expense money, as there was no explanation."

When Operative Crane reported this conversation at the Agency, the superintendent at once wrote the Chicago office, with the result that the error was discovered, and the fifty dollars returned to Denver.

The rules of the Pinkerton Agency do not permit an operative or an official to accept a gift or reward at the hands of a client. Therefore, unless an exception was made in this case, the money would have to be refunded to Manager MacNeill.

Manager McParland was very reluctant to do this. He knew the motive which prompted the smelter magnate to make this gift, and heartily approved of it. For this reason, Manager McParland wrote a long letter to General Manager Bangs on April 24th, 1903, in which he recited the operative's faithful services to the smelter trust, the perseverance he displayed in holding down his job at the smelter for over a year, and the indignities he suffered after his exposure. In view of these circumstances, the tender-hearted McParland pleaded that the rules might be suspended for once, so that the operative could accept Mr. MacNeill's present.

Apparently Manager McParland had influence at court. His petition was granted, and Operative Crane got the fifty dollars.

CHAPTER IV.

NO. 43, JOSEPH F. GADDEN, AT COLORADO CITY.
NO. 23, J. H. CUMMINS, AT FLORENCE.
NO. 9, PHILANDER P. BAILEY, AT VICTOR.

The exposure of No. 5 encouraged the striking millmen at Colorado City very much, as it seemed to them an augury of success, but they were mistaken.

Manager MacNeill did some rapid thinking. The strikers were quiet and orderly, and had no intentions of returning to work unless their demands were granted, as they received ample support from the Western Federation of Miners. His smelter was in bad shape for want of competent help. To get new men was impracticable. Operative Crane had been exposed. Clearly, then, the strikers so far had the best of the situation, and would win the strike by simply watching and waiting. But this would never do.

Nor did it take Mr. MacNeill long to decide upon a course of action. He held a conference with Sheriff Gilbert, of El Paso County, and then left for Denver, where he lost no time in calling upon Governor James H. Peabody. He handed the governor a letter from the sheriff, stating that there were armed mobs in control of Colorado City who were resisting the laws of the state, and threatening to commit felonies; the sheriff was unable to cope with the situation, and prayed for military assistance.

Governor Peabody immediately ordered the militia to Colorado City, to the surprise and indignation of every intelligent inhabitant of the state.

The mayor and city council of Colorado City sent a message of protest to the governor and assured him that everything was quiet, and that there was absolutely no need of the military. But nowadays, of what weight is the statement of a mayor and city council as opposed to the word of a corporation general manager?

The first acts of the troops, upon their arrival at the scene, proved what kind of peace they were sent down there to preserve. They drove the union pickets from their posts, invaded the union hall while the men were holding a regular meeting, and marched up and down the quiet streets of Colorado City with a swagger. To describe fully the foolish sayings and doings of the military at Colorado City and Governor Peabody at Denver would take too much valuable space. Therefore, we will, instead, see what Manager MacNeill did to repair the loss he sustained in the exposure of No. 5.

The Agency felt the exposure more keenly than Mr. MacNeill, as it meant decreased earnings for them. They at once began to hunt for a man capable and willing to resume the operation, and in a few weeks found what they were looking for in the person of Joseph F. Gadden, styled No. 43.

Supt. Fraser, of the Denver Agency, then wrote Manager MacNeill that he had an excellent operative available to take up the thread of No. 5's work. Mr. MacNeill replied by return mail to send him forward at once. And go forward he did.

But he had a hard time right from the very start. The union men were on the alert and suspicious of every new-comer, and in order to further protect themselves, passed a resolution that no stranger to town be admitted to membership in the union.

The following report of No. 43 will give the reader an idea, how suspicious the Colorado City smeltermen were of strangers at this time. The romantic vileness of the detective trade is well brought out with unconscious art. The episode of "the young man John" deserves not to slumber in the Pinkerton archives.

Dear Sir:—

OPERATIVE NO. 43 REPORTS:

Colorado City, Colo., Thursday, April 9, 1903.

This morning I walked around town for a while and met a few of the mill men, but nothing of interest occurred. At 9.30 I helped a brother of the secretary of the union here, who has a van, move a lady to Colorado Springs. He questioned me all the while regarding myself and my business, but of course learned nothing.

After dinner I met Gilbert, Nichels, Burr, Elder and Aberlene at the Hoffman bar, where we had some drinks. Some of the men got the drinks on credit from Hames, while others borrowed some cash of him.

There was considerable talk about the club house to be built by the U. S. R. & R. Company, some claiming it would be a good thing, and others claiming it was done simply to get the good feeling of the people here.

I was with these men quite a while when Nichels and Elder left us and went to the pool hall, and I went to my room until supper time.

After supper I met a young man, tall, dark-complexioned, who wears a stiff hat, and who told me he was one of the first three men discharged from the Standard Mill. I have not yet learned his name, but they call him John. We went to the pool hall and there met Gilbert, Elder, DeLong, King and Epperson. Epperson and DeLong wanted me to play pool and they took off their coats. I saw it was their scheme to get me to take off my coat, and I handed it to the young man John, who went to the other end of the hall with the garment and went through the pockets. I played two games of pool, giving him plenty of time, knowing he would find nothing, and then the crowd broke up.

I took the car to Colorado Springs and received instructions to call on Mr. Hawkins. Upon my return to Colorado City I met John and Epperson, and talked a while with them, and when Epperson left, John told me his people had gone away and he didn't have any place to sleep, so I invited him to come to my room.

At my room I showed him my books and the lessons I am taking through a correspondence school, and told him I had to get a lesson every night, and I made a pretense of studying it, and he looked through my trunk while I was writing.

After we got to bed he got confidential, and told me they had had lots of trouble with detectives, had had one named

Cane, or something of that sort, and four others whom he did not know, and that the union kept two men themselves to watch the newcomers. We talked until 2.30, when we went to sleep. I know that I am watched, and must be cautious for some time to come.

Friday, April 10, 1903.

This morning I took John to breakfast, and he then asked me to lend him $1.50. I pulled out about $3.00, which I showed him, telling him it was all I had, but he could have $1.50 if he would pay it back Saturday, as it was his payday, and he promised to do so. I also told him I would have to get work next week; then after leaving him, I laid down and took a nap, as I wasn't feeling very well.

After dinner I was out for a while and met a few of the men, but nothing of interest occurred, and I discontinued early.

Yours respectfully, ...

Having foreseen the trouble at Colorado City, Mr. MacNeill had also prepared for war in another direction, namely in Florence, Colo., where his company also operates a large reduction plant. At this point J. H. Cummins, No. 23, and subsequently operative *T. J. Conibear, No. 18, were doing excellent work. Very little of importance ever occurred in Florence, yet we will give an extract from the report of No. 23, to illustrate the care taken by the Agency and the trust to keep the men at each of the company's plants under surveillance.

At the time these events were transpiring the superintendent of the company's plant at Florence was John Q. MacDonald, who was also mayor of Florence and a colonel of the National Guard. Indeed, during

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*Operative Conibear both preceded and succeeded Operative Cummins. Cummins only worked temporarily on this operation, due to the fact that one night, Operative Conibear, while riding down hill from work, fell from his bicycle and was almost killed. His fellow-workers and the B. P. O. Elks, of which he was a member, took the best care of him; but after he recovered he resumed the operation, and subsequently served quite a long while as President of the Florence Millmen's Union.

Governor Peabody's administration any mine owner or mill manager who cared for the position could become a colonel or general of the state militia, merely for the asking.

Dear Sir:—

OPERATIVE NO. 23 REPORTS:

Florence, Colo., Wednesday, Feb. 25, 1903.

I went to the mill at 7.35 this morning and worked in the barrel room from 8.00 o'clock until 4.00 P. M., getting the lime ready for charging the barrels. During the afternoon Mr. MacDonald visited the barrel room, and while here told me to call at his residence this evening. While Mr. MacDonald was in the barrel room, I was busy helping charge one of the barrels and took out a sample of the ore.

After Mr. MacDonald had left, head barrel man Duckett told me that whenever Mr. MacDonald or any of the foremen were present, the sample of ore must be taken out a little at a time from each hopper. The way the sample is usually taken is all at one time, and from only one hopper. I then made the remark that when the foremen were present everything had to be done a certain way, and it didn't make much difference when the foremen were not present. Duckett said we had to be a little more particular when the manager or foremen were around. All of the men in the chlorinating department seemed to be doing a good shift's work.

I left the mill at 4.10 P. M. and went to town with John Edwards, Jim Edwards and Horace Mann, and John Edwards told me he would have to think a long while before he went on a strike at the mill, as he was in the strike two years ago at the National Mill, and that all those who made the trouble and did the agitating were single men who when they lost their positions could leave town and go elsewhere, leaving the married men and those who had homes to get along as best they could. He further said he believed there were a good many others who looked at the situation in the same way as he did, and that it would take some strong talk and urging to get a majority of the men at the Union Plant to go out on a strike.

At 7.15 to-night I called on Mr. MacDonald at his residence, and he said he was anxious to know if anything was being done by the union men here towards giving assistance to the striking mill men, as he expected something would be done either to-day or to-morrow toward that end. I told him nothing had been done as yet, but I rather expected some one would soon be here to try and organize the men at the Union Plant. He told me that in case a union was organized I should become a member, but not to take a very active part, as he expected to discharge the union men as soon as he got their names, and he did not want to draw the men's attention to me being a union man and still being kept at the mill. Mr. MacDonald then gave me his telephone number and post office box number, and told me that if anything important transpired, I should let him know by telephone or mail to his post office box. I assured him I would let him know immediately it anything was done to get assistance of the men who were working at the mill.

After leaving Mr. MacDonald's residence I went to the National Saloon, where I met Barney Bramhall. I asked him if he had heard anything in reference to the strike, and he said he had not.

I visited the Palace, Opera House, Carroll's and the Miners' Exchange saloons. At the latter place I met mill men Jones, Barker and Fry, and I talked with them and asked them if they had heard anything new concerning the mill men's strike at Colorado City, and they replied in the negative. I stayed at the Opera House Saloon until 10.30 P. M., but learned nothing of importance. I then left the saloon and discontinued.

Yours respectfully, ...

The strike of the mill and smeltermen received the greatest attention in the Cripple Creek District. The miners in this district realized the gravity of the situation better than any one else. They knew that if Manager MacNeill succeeded in operating his smelters with non-union labor, the Western Federation would order them out on strike in order to shut off the supply of ore. A general strike of this kind was a very serious matter.

A number of the mine owners employed Agency operatives to watch the Cripple Creek unions, and below we will quote a report of operative Philander B. Bailey, No. 9, who was employed by the Woods Investment Company, and worked as a practical miner on the Wild Horse Mine. The report of a union meeting ought to be blood-curdling. Let us see what a refined spy, who abbreviates bad language, says.

Dear Sir:—

OPERATIVE NO. 9 REPORTS:

Victor, Colo., Saturday, February 21st, 1903.

I reported at the mine for work this morning, and at 7 A. M. we went below. I worked in the Underhand Stope on the 8th level. Francis Herman, James Wasley and Tom Gaynor worked in this stope to-day. Herman spoke (as he always does) in harsh terms about the mine owners and superintendents. He also said there are a lot of S. O. B.'s in this camp, who are ever ready to do the mine owners' bidding. To this Wasley said, "Why in Hell don't the union drive these scabs out of the camp! If they (the so-called scabs) were in Butte City, Montana, they would have to hit the grit, and that quickly, too." Wasley came from Butte to this district.

We worked until 11 A. M., when we went to surface for lunch. Nothing of interest occurred during lunch time, and at 11.30 A. M. we went below to work again. We worked until 3.30 P. M., when we went to surface and home, arriving in Victor at 4 P. M.

After supper I went up-town and spent the evening about the resorts of the men until 7.30 P. M. During the evening I met Arthur Evans, Jack and Fred Minister, Chauncey Williams and Harry McGuigan. Evans is working at the Portland, the Minister boys at the Deadwood, McGuigan at the Independence, and Williams at the Wild Horse. None of these men think the strike at Colorado City will extend to this district.

At 7.30 P. M. I went to the union meeting. The ballot was open to-day from 1 until 8 P. M. (at union hall) for the purpose of voting on the compulsory insurance now existing at the mines of the district, to determine whether the union submit to being compelled to pay the present rate of insurance, 3 per cent., or not. I heard several people say to-night that the Woods people are the only mine owners of the district who compel their employees to pay this insurance, and that at other mines it is optional with the men employed. This balloting will be continued next Saturday, February 28th, 1903.

At 7.30 P. M. lodge opened in due form, with an attendance of about 75 members. There were three initiations.

After nominating officers for the ensuing term, the lodge proceeded to the regular dispatch of business.

There has been a standing committee for some time for the purpose of waiting on some of the mine superintendents in regard to working their men overtime. During the past week the committee waited upon the management (so they said) of the Gold Coin, Independence and Portland mines. The committee reported that the management of these properties promised them that they would not have their men work overtime except when really necessary. The committee's report was received, and the committee discharged.

After the regular business was disposed of, Mr. Mangon and John C. Sullivan, President of the State Federation of Labor of Colorado, addressed the meeting. Mangon was in Colorado City in charge of the striking mill men, I believe, from Sunday last until Wednesday last, at which time he was relieved by a Leadville man named, I believe, Burr or Berg. I could not exactly understand the name, but think it is Burr. Mangon stated that since the men went on strike at the mill, there has been something like 150 men who have joined the millmen's union at Colorado City. He said that he, Mangon, and Charles Moyer, President of the Western Federation, held a consultation with Mr. Fullerton, of the Telluride Mill, and that Fullerton made more concessions to them than they thought he would make. Fullerton told them (so Mangon said), that he will not discriminate against any man, let him be union or non-union, and that he (Fullerton) will not pay his men less than $2.00 per day. Mangon said that MacNeill is a S. O. B., and that he (MacNeill) may wish before this trouble is settled that he had not started anything.

Mangon said that he talked with an engineer who switches the ore to the mill where the men are on strike, and the engineer told him that the railroad men are ready to quit pulling ore to this mill at any time that their union (the railroad men's union) says 'stop.'

Mangon said that the Federation will not call the miners of this district out except as a last resort, but if the trouble cannot be adjusted in any other way, that the men of some of the mines here will be called upon to stop work. He named as the principal contributors of ore to the United States Mill, the Strong, Independence and Hull City Mines. He also said the coal miners are ready to make a stand for the mill men whenever they are called upon to do so.

Sullivan made quite a lengthy speech, but confined his talk mostly to bills which are now before the legislative body, the eight-hour bill being the principal one. He told the union that the only hope he has for the men at Colorado City to win out, is, for the smelter trusts and the Mine Owners' Association to hitch on the treatment and handling of ore. He (Sullivan) further said that if the miners of this district should be called out, that they will stand as a unit in behalf of the strikers at Colorado City. He said, too, that the present legislature will pass no law which will better the condition of the working people, and that all trusts and combines are against organized Labor, and especially the Western Federation of Miners. At 11.20 P. M. lodge adjourned to meet next Saturday evening at 7.30 P. M.

Charley Stuart and I took a drink at the Monarch, and I discontinued.

Yours respectfully, ...

The reader will note that the operative's report of the regular meeting of Victor Miners' Union No. 32 W. F. M. does not contain one word about secretly killing any one, or blowing up any property. Yet this is the kind of business the union should have transacted, if they wished to live up to the reputation Mr. James McParland has assiduously tried to give them both. As a matter of fact, if the files of the Pinkerton Agency were examined to-day, not a report would be found showing a single item of actual incriminating evidence against the miners, unless it is a crime of itself for workingmen to come together and transact ordinary lodge business. But of this later.

After the state troops had been in Colorado City for about two weeks, the governor, fearing they might die of ennui there, recalled them to Denver, and appointed an advisory board to try and settle the trouble by arbitration.

The board succeeded, after considerable work, in patching up a truce between the Federation and Manager MacNeill, and Mr. MacNeill was given until May 18th, 1903, to carry out the articles of agreement. The terms of settlement were, recognition of the union, an eight-hour day, a small increase in wages and reinstatement of all old employees.

When it became known that an agreement had been reached, there was much rejoicing all over the state, and everybody prepared for an era of prosperity and happiness.

But there were five elements which were a bar to the continuance of peace: Manager MacNeill, who had no idea of keeping faith with his men; the Agency, which preached war to the knife against the Western Federation of Miners; Governor Peabody, who at best was a toy in the hands of corporation managers; the Cripple Creek Mine Owners' Association, which was leagued to crush the Federation of Miners; and Sherman Bell, Adjutant General of the State of Colorado, generally regarded as a hare-brained adventurer, scarcely to be trusted with the guardianship of a pig-pen, let alone the military forces of a great state.

CHAPTER V.

NO. 42, A. W. GRATIAS.

Manager MacNeill openly violated his agreement with the W. F. of M. from the very start. He compelled his men to work ten and twelve hours a day, refused to increase their wages, and only reinstated such of his former employees as were willing to quit the union.

Mr. Moyer sent a committee to Mr. MacNeill to straighten matters out; but it met with signal failure, as Mr. MacNeill was absolutely immovable.

Another thing which created a very bitter feeling throughout the state was the refusal of the legislature to enact an eight-hour law. Both great political parties had the law in their platforms, and the people, by a majority of 46,000, had declared in favor of a constitutional amendment making eight hours a legal workday in mines and smelters. Yet Governor Peabody did not even mention the matter in his message to the legislature, and that body flatly ignored the wishes of a majority of the people of Colorado in deference to the orders of coal operators and the smelter trust.

The employees of the American Smelting & Refining Company at Denver, after this treachery of the legislature, sent a letter to General Manager Guiterman requesting an eight-hour day at all the smelting plants in Denver. The men said they would accept a reduction in wages, but they insisted on an eight-hour day. Mr. Guiterman refused the demands, which resulted in Mill & Smeltermen's Union No. 93 declaring a strike in July, 1903, on the Grant and Globe Smelters. Union No. 125, at Colorado City, at about the same time, declared a second strike on the Standard Mill.

As the smelter trust found no difficulty in procuring non-union labor, the Western Federation of Miners decided to cut off the supply of ore, and to this end ordered a general strike in the Cripple Creek district on August 10th. The order was obeyed with military promptitude, and the tie-up was complete.

We will for the present follow up the progress of the strike and the work of the Agency in Denver. The work of No. 42, who is the central figure of this chapter, is the more interesting because, to a great extent, he was working under the personal direction of Manager James McParland.

Shortly after the walk out at the Globe and Grant smelters, General Manager Guiterman applied to the Agency for a competent operative to fraternize with his striking employees, keep him informed and try to weaken the strike. The Agency said it was a hard matter to place an operative in a locality where a strike was in progress. Yet they would endeavor to comply with his request. The Agency chose for this work A. W. Gratias, known as No. 42.

When detailing him on this operation, the Agency did not think he would ever make good, and the only reason they sent No. 42 was that he had just got through with an operation for the Union Pacific Railroad, and no other operative was at liberty at the time.

No. 42 was an exceptionally bright operative, and quickly adapted himself to the situation. And so shrewdly did he conduct himself, that in a few weeks he was invited to join the union, and a short time after was an influential member.

The Agency was now in a position to render Mr. Guiterman good service, and Mr. McParland himself drew up the instructions for No. 42. To begin with, the operative was instructed to create trouble between the leaders of the union. This he accomplished, and soon the union was divided into a number of hostile camps, the operative being strictly neutral, which so strengthened his position with the men that he was in a short time elected recording secretary.

As secretary, the operative knew in advance everything the union intended to do, and as quickly as he learned something he communicated it to the Agency, and the latter to Mr. Guiterman. The operative was next instructed to agitate the question of strike benefits among the men, so that they would demand financial aid from the Western Federation of Miners, and he was also told to intrigue against some of the leaders, so that the union would expel them. The chiefs being out of the way, Mr. McParland hoped that the rank and file would call the strike off.

The following report of No. 42 will show how he endeavored to carry out these instructions:

Dear Sir:—

OPERATIVE NO. 42 REPORTS:

Denver, Colo., Tuesday, September 29th, 1903.

I reported at the office and received instructions to speak to the members of the smeltermen's union in a careful way, and try to make them believe they are entitled to some money or some benefits from the W. F. of M., to cause them to become dissatisfied, also to do what I can to get D. B. Smith out of the union.

I went to Globeville and visited nearly all of the saloons there. I found very little doing. I met Alden at Vogt's Saloon. Alden told me he met a man yesterday who wanted to go to work in the Globe Smelter. This party did not know Alden was a union man. Alden told him he was thinking of going to work himself. Alden said, "He told me to meet him this morning at 5.30, and we would go in together. The son of a gun did not show up this morning. If he had, I'd have fixed him so that he would be in the hospital now. I wanted to get him out alone, having had no chance at him yesterday."

At Predovich's place this evening I mixed with several of the boys. Frank McNamara was there. Policeman Malone spent an hour there, drinking and talking with the boys. Predovich called Malone out. They went out, talked for fifteen minutes, then came back. I do not know what they talked about.

I walked with Alden this evening. He told me that the

Allen and Stewart combination, that are trying to get Smith out, are also trying to get him, Alden, out. Alden said, "I have done more for this union than any other man in it, and now this is what I get. I led that attack on the smelter on July 3rd. I made the watchman open the gate, and told him if he dared to blow that whistle I'd kill him. You bet he did not blow it. Mike Golden was with me. We went in the engine room, and it was Golden that pulled the whistle. Mike Golden is in California. They are looking for him, but he got away from them."

Alden is dissatisfied with the way things are run. He expected to get $2.50 a day, and as he is only getting $1.50 he is angry. He said, "If they try to run me out of this union, I'll make them feel sorry, if I have to kill a couple of them."

I discontinued at 9 P. M.

Yours respectfully, ...

In the course of time the operative became so popular with the men that toward the end of the Fall, 1903, he was appointed chairman of the Relief Committee.

Mr. McParland now instructed the operative to make the bills for relief as large as possible, so as to drain the treasury of the Federation. The operative followed instructions so faithfully that the relief bills soon amounted to a little over a thousand dollars a week. He not only supplied the men with necessities, but even with luxuries and cash to spend.

The operative's extreme liberality endeared him to the men, who rewarded him by electing him president of the union. We now see the unique spectacle of a Pinkerton spy, under the direct orders of Manager McParland, as president of a Western Federation of Miners' local union, and directing a bitter strike against the smelter trust.

On his elevation to the presidency the operative did not relinquish his position on the relief committee, nor would the men have permitted him to do so, as they were perfectly satisfied with the way the operative squandered the money of the Federation.

In this way the strike dragged on for months, with no prospect of a settlement.

Along in May, 1904, some careless remarks of Mr. Dennis Sheedy, one of the directors of the smelting company, made the men believe that there was a spy in their midst, but the operative managed to lull these suspicions to sleep, and an investigation which was pending was dropped. The following report treats of this matter:

Dear Sir:—

OPERATIVE NO. 42 REPORTS:

Denver, Colo., Saturday, May 21st, 1904.

I went to Globeville this morning and spent the day at various saloons, mingling with the union men.

I overheard three men talking of the murder of private detective Gregory. They expressed great satisfaction that he was killed, and said his slayers were good union men, and will get more before they finish. One of these men was Charles Nyburg. I did not know the names of the other two.

I met T. R. Stuart this afternoon. He is one of the prominent members of the union. He worked in the smelter as a carpenter. Of late he has not been so active in union matters. He told me he came to Globeville to see how the union men are getting along. Stuart is a great Democrat. He said, "Well, we won the election; now, do you think the company is going to do anything?" I said, "No, I do not. I feel sure they are not going to do anything this summer. It is doubtful, in my mind, whether they will ever do anything, but if they do, it will be many months hence." Stuart said, "Well, I guess we will have to wait until next fall, and then we are going to win, because the State is going democratic by 20,000." I asked Stuart how the Globe Smelter is running, and he said he did not know, but from what he heard they are having a hard time to get and keep experienced men.

I saw Amos Shreve this evening, and talked with him about the leak in the union. Shreve said he did not positively know whether there was a leak or not. He said, "The men that brought this thing up, have only circumstantial evidence that someone is giving these things away. They have not said a thing that proved that we have a traitor in the union. Mr. Sheedy could very easily go to the First

National Bank and there find out what our bills every week are." Shreve said he is beginning to believe it is all a mistake, and that there is no one in the union who is betraying them. We talked for some time, and I agreed with Shreve that it probably is all a mistake.

I called on B. P. Smith this evening at his residence. He had company, and I only stayed a little while. Our conversation was general, and in the presence of others.

I discontinued at 10.00 P. M.

Yours respectfully, ...

As the annual convention of the Western Federation was about to take place, the operative was instructed to become a delegate, if possible; and he was so well liked and trusted by the men, that he was almost unanimously elected to represent Millmen's Union No. 93.

The convention took place in Denver, and the operative, therefore, communicated the proceedings daily to the Agency, who sent them by special delivery to Manager Guiterman.

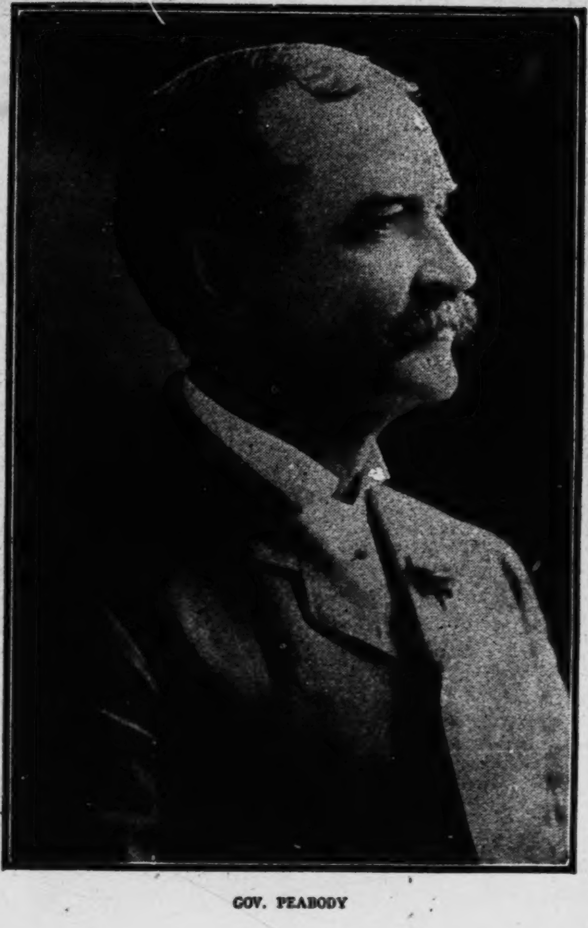
Strange though it may seem, the convention did not authorize a single murder, nor did it order the destruction of any property. The following two reports are a fair sample of the proceedings and deliberations of the convention, as seen by a wolf in sheep's clothing:

Dear Sir:—

OPERATIVE NO. 42 REPORTS:

Denver, Colo., Wednesday, June 1st, 1904.

I went to the W. F. of M. Convention this morning. Discussion was resumed of increasing the per capita tax to make the $300,000 fund mentioned in my report a few days ago. They debated on this all forenoon, and on opening this afternoon the resolution was voted down. A majority of the delegates voted for the resolution, but it requires a two-thirds vote to change the constitution of the Federation, and as there were not two-thirds who voted for it, it was lost. There was nothing important brought out in the discussion on this resolution. Those in favor claimed it would meet with more favor among the members



GOV. PEABODY

to have the extra per capita tax than to have so many assessments as they now have. Those against claimed the members would complain against paying the increase, and a good many would probably leave the Federation when they learned the tax is raised.

This afternoon a resolution was introduced that a committee of three be sent to Cripple Creek to investigate the strike there and report to the convention how the situation stands at present, how the strike was conducted and how it was declared in the first place, and whether it was in conformity with the constitution of the W. F. of M. or not. It was then moved that before this resolution be entertained that the convention hear from the different delegates from Cripple Creek. Sherman Parker was the first man called on, but as it was 5.00 P. M. the convention adjourned and Parker will speak in the morning.

I went to Globeville and prepared the relief books for to-night's meeting, then went to the regular meeting of the Smeltermen's Union. There were 22 visiting delegates from the W. F. of M. Convention present, and 37 of the local members. The relief bills paid amounted to $347.60.

The following delegates spoke: W. F. Davis, A. G. Paul, W. A. Morgan and Sherman Parker, of Cripple Creek; I. H. Davis and Henry Gibson, from South Dakota; Garrison and Edwards, from Colorado City; Charles E. Maloney, C. P. Maloney, F. L. Rebar, W. T. Stoddard and Malcolm Gillis, from Butte, Montana; J. B. Fulber, of California; T. McGraff, of Wyoming; Stewart Forbes, of Telluride, and Lane, of Nevada.

The talk of these delegates took some time, though they all spoke on about the same lines, that is, they all flattered the Denver Smeltermen's Union on the record they have made in their strike. Some of the outside delegates said they were told that a less per cent. of the men of the D. S. U. have gone back to work than has ever been heard of before in any strike that has been out as long as the smeltermen have. Each delegate, before he finished his address, promised the smeltermen that the fight of the smeltermen in this strike was also their fight and the union he represents, and that they would stand by the Colorado Mine, Mill and Smeltermen in this eight-hour struggle to the end. Some told the smeltermen that whatever they do, don't give up the fight, and in the end they will win.

The delegates from Butte, Montana, who are representing the unions that have given the most money toward the support of the Colorado strikers, expressed very forcibly that they believed the strike here was just, that they were heart and soul with the strikers, and will continue to give then financial aid until the strike is won.

Malcolm Gillis, of Butte, Montana, made a good, strong speech, upheld President Moyer for the stand he has taker in the Colorado troubles, condemned Governor Peabody although he, Gillis, is a Republican, and said, "Butte i with you to a man, and I want to say you are going to win All I ask you to do is, stand together in the future as you have stood in the past."

Most of the outside delegates said they knew nothing o the strikes in Colorado, comparatively, until they arrivec in Denver, but since attending the convention, they hav learned considerable.

The visiting delegates left at 11.30 P. M., and our unior adjourned immediately after.

I discontinued at 12.00 midnight.

Yours respectfully, ...

Denver, Colo., Thursday, June 2nd, 1904.

I went to the meeting of the W. F. of M. Conventior to-day. The Cripple Creek strike was discussed this forenoon. Sherman Parker, of Cripple Creek, was the principa speaker of that district. He began by relating the conditior in Colorado City in regard to the mill men there in the early part of 1903. He stated that the cause of the Colorado City strike was discrimination against the union men that the Colorado City strike was the beginning of the present Cripple Creek strike. He said the Cripple Creel miners are not only fighting for eight hours for the mil men, but are fighting to maintain the present scale of wages He explained that it was the intention of the mine owners to reduce the wages, and in order to do so, they realizec that they would first have to drive the W. F. of M. out o the district. In explaining the present strike conditions ir the district, Parker said there were between 3,000 and 3,50 men that went on strike, that at present there are from 90 to 1,000 men and their families getting relief from the W F. of M. 800 union men are working on fair properties and 300 of the union men that went on strike have gon back to work and are "scabbing" now.

Parker explained the conditions the miners are in at the present time. Not being familiar with mining at all, an as I could not write down anything while in the conventior hall, it is imposible for me to remember enough to repor on this fully. However, Parker and the other Cripple Creel delegates that followed him explained to the conventior that the mine owners are in a very bad way, and are almos whipped to a certainty. Parker and his colleagues all said in concluding their remarks that they are going to win out in Cripple Creek whether the W. F. of M. stands by them or not.

The delegates, especially those from Butte, were much interested and repeatedly interrupted the speakers by asking them questions when they did not thoroughly understand.

A committee of three were appointed to go to Cripple Creek and investigate into the situation there and report back to the convention. R. E. Allen, H. C. Seaman and Malcolm Gillis composed the committee. They will leave on the 3.45 train this afternoon. Secretary Haywood asked that the Executive Board be given permission to select a member of the Cripple Creek delegation favorable to them to accompany this committee to Cripple Creek. The permission was given, and I learned later that Sherman Parker was selected.

A resolution was then introduced that a committee be sent to Telluride for the same purpose. It was then decided that they hear first from the Telluride delegates. They now adjourned for noon and resumed at 2 P. M.

The principal speaker from Telluride was Stewart Forbes. He went into the details that led up to the Telluride strike. He explained how the union men were treated by the authorities. He also explained that it was the mill men there that caused the strike. He said that the mines there were not working successfully with the scabs they have at present. He stated that 75 per cent. of the mill men have gone back and are scabbing. The Telluride delegates expressed themselves as the Cripple Creek delegates did, that they will win their strike, and if the W. F. of M. did not endorse it, they would fight it alone, and win it alone.

In the questioning following Forbes' remarks, it was brought out that a Mr. Cameron, an agent of the Smuggler Union Mining Company, went to Michigan and hired men to work in that company's mines; that Mr. Cameron told the men he hired that his company had nothing against the unions; that the men could join the union if they wished, and that the only trouble they had there was with the Italians, and they will never hire another Italian. He told the men they would not be scabbing if they went to work for his company. A delegate from Michigan stated he met Mr. Cameron there, that Cameron took 27 men with him from Michigan to Colorado. Among the 27 men was a man named John Junkgrist. Another delegate stated he met Junkgrist in Denver yesterday. Junkgrist just arrived from

Telluride and is going to Michigan after more men. The delegates of Michigan were instructed to notify their unions to look out for this man.

Another man said he saw a man that is hiring men for Telluride. This party claimed the only trouble in Telluride is with the Italians there. The delegate then said. "This goes on to show the mine owners must be in a bad way in Telluride."

A delegate (I don't know his name nor where he is from) asked Forbes if he knew a man in Telluride by the name of Pat Harrigan. Forbes said he did. The delegate then asked if Harrigan was a Pinkerton detective. Forbes said he did not know. The delegate then said he knew Harrigan before he went to Telluride. He was then suspected of being a Pinkerton man, and since then, he, the delegate, has found out that Harrigan is a Pinkerton detective. Chairman Williams then informed the speaker that he was out of order, as this did not come up under the discussion of the Telluride strike situation. It was then decided that the Telluride matter be laid over until the committee from Cripple Creek return and make their report.

The committee on affiliation with the A. F. of L. then reported. As it was now adjournment time, it was moved that the discussion on affiliation with the A. F. of L. be taken up the first thing to-morrow. The convention then adjourned at 5.30 P. M.

Joe Mehelict, of Globeville, told me to-day that quite a number of the union men in Globeville have left to look for work. I asked how many, and he said he did not know; probably fifty or more.

I met Assistant Superintendent Cary this evening at 9 o'clock, and talked over my work with him, and received further instructions.

I discontinued at 10 P. M.

Yours respectfully, ...

Shortly prior to the convention, Manager James McParland changed his instructions to the operative so far as the relief work was concerned.

The operative had reported that Secretary-Treasurer William D. Haywood of the Federation was objecting to the enormous weekly relief bills, and insisting that they be reduced. Manager McParland therefore instructed that the operative cut the relief down to an extent that would almost starve the strikers, and while doing this, to throw the blame on Secretary Haywood.

Mr. McParland no doubt felt this to be a master stroke of cunning.

Below we quote a report of No. 42 embodying these instructions from the Agency, and a statement from the operative that he would carry them out.

Dear Sir:—

OPERATIVE NO. 42 REPORTS:

Denver, Colo., Thursday, June 9th, 1904.

I reported in the office in the morning, then went to Globeville. I talked with a number of the union men and found them very quiet on the strike situation. The trouble in the Cripple Creek district is causing considerable comment. The militia and Citizens' Alliance were scared fiercely. Nick Kekick said the miners ought to all get together, arm themselves and go to the Cripple Creek district and run the militia out.

I went to Joe Mehelict and told him the instructions received from Haywood Monday evening. I told him that last night at the meeting. I told Malich and Smith, and Smith thought we should wait until next Wednesday before re-establishing the pickets, also that in the meantime Smith wanted to see Haywood, as he thought it unwise to do anything in Globeville on account of the trouble in Cripple Creek.

Mehelict listened attentively, then said: "Smith is afraid of getting arrested. I am not. I know what Smith wants to see Haywood for. He wants to persuade Haywood not to send the pickets out. Smith is afraid of sending them out."

Mehelict was in favor of sending the pickets out and was very angry at B. P. Smith, thinking that Smith did not want to send the pickets out. Mehelict later said that if it had not been for B. P. Smith, this strike would have been settled long ago. He said after the strike had been declared, Smith told the men the strike would last some time, and told them not to wait around here, but get out and find work elsewhere. Mehelict said the result was, all the good men left, and they had no one to do the picket work.

I met Steve Stucka this evening. He asked me if I thought the strike would be settled soon. I told him I heard nothing of a settlement or anything that would indicate a settlement; that the strike would last a long time yet, also that I believed the union will have to give up by next fall, if we did not win by that time.

Now, that the convention is over, I will again take personal charge of the relief work and will carry out the instructions I received from Mr. Cary about a week ago in regard to cutting down the relief as much as possible, so as to cause dissatisfaction, and get the men against the union.

I will put the blame for not giving the men more relief as much as I can on W. D. Haywood, by saying I am carrying out his instructions.

I discontinued at 9 P. M.

Yours respectfully, ...

But Mr. McParland was mistaken. The men chose starvation and idleness rather than starvation wages for twelve hours work at the fiery furnaces of the smelters.

Month after month went by, and yet the men stayed out, until, wearied with the hopeless struggle, the union, after a two-year fight, called the strike off, and permitted its members to resume work. This defeat of the union was due, not so much to the work of No. 42 as to the occurrences in the Cripple Creek district during the closing months of 1903 and the summer of 1904.

CHAPTER VI.

BIRDS OF A FEATHER FLOCK TOGETHER.

We will now give a brief summary of the causes leading up to one of the greatest struggles between capital and labor that ever disgraced the country.

On August 10th, 1903, the Cripple Creek miners were called out on strike, and all mines closed down, in order to shut off the supply of ore from the smelter trust, and thus force them to concede the just demands of the Colorado City and Denver smeltermen. Shortly after, the miners of San Miguel County also went on strike in order to force the trust to treat justly with the smeltermen in their county. Thus, to a great extent, the quartz mining industry of the State was at a standstill.

But in order to understand the real reason why capital made such an extraordinarily desperate struggle against the Western Federation of Miners, we must go back to the month of May, 1903.

During this month the Federation held its annual convention in Denver, and among the things discussed were, the discrimination of the mill trust against the smeltermen, the trouble at Colorado City, the readiness of Governor Peabody to farm out the state troops to any corporation that would pay for them, and the refusal of the legislature to enact an eight-hour law as demanded by a majority of 46,000 voters of Colorado.

It was the sense of the convention that labor had nothing to expect from Governors and legislators who were sold, body and soul, to the trusts. Therefore, after a warm discussion, the convention endorsed Socialism, and decided that henceforth the Western Federation of Miners would take an active and independent part in politics.

The mine owners and corporations doing business in Colorado viewed this unexpected move on the part of the Federation with the gravest concern, for they well knew that the endorsement of Socialism by a powerful body like the W. F. of M. would give that movement an impetus that might soon win success at the polls.

And when the corporation officials imagined honest men piloting the ship of state, and at the head of the city governments of Colorado, they trembled. State troops would no longer be the tools of capital; workingmen would have an honest trial before an upright judge, the corporations would have to do a square business and obey the laws at greatly reduced profits.

As a counter check to the Federation, the trusts first of all fathered an organization known as The Citizens' Alliance, which started in Denver, and soon had branches in every city in Colorado and other Western points. The membership of the Denver Citizens' Alliance consisted of business people, and their ostensible purpose was to co-operate with organized labor in promoting harmony and industrial prosperity. The real object of the Alliance was to disrupt and rout organized labor, and more particularly to help drive the Western Federation of Miners from the State.

Be it said to the credit of organized labor of Denver that they penetrated the real aims and objects of the Citizens' Alliance, and sought to crush it in its inception by calling a general strike; but beyond tying up the industries of Denver for a few days, labor accomplished nothing. The strike failed.

Once the Alliance was safely organized, Bishop Matz of the Catholic Church thundered forth anathemas against Socialism and its new champions, and thus gave the stamp of religious approval to whatever steps the trusts might take to coerce the miners into submission or drive them from the State at the point of the bayonet.

Bishop N. C. Matz took up the fight in behalf of reaction, and for a number of Sundays the Right Reverend Bishop, instead of preaching peace, love and charity, attacked a political party, labor unions and the Western Federation of Miners in discourses which were widely reported by the press.

The following is an extract from one of his lectures:

"Socialism, that is the enemy our century will have to face. We must prepare to do so at once. Godlessness, which St. Thomas calls the greatest of all sins, has brought it forth. Infidelity robs man of the hope of heaven and the fear of hell, and urges him to seek heaven here instead of hereafter. Thus humanity is led to plunge recklessly in pursuit of pleasure.

"A return to God through Christianity is the only remedy. Christianity teaches man that God alone, who has made the human heart for himself, can fill the wants of that heart. It teaches him that this want shall be fully satisfied only in heaven. Earth, with its few years of miserable existence, at best is not worthy of man's infinite aspirations. There, in heaven alone, full justice will be done. There the rôles will be inverted, and the poor, the afflicted, of whom the earth was not worthy, will be the landlords."

We quote another extract from Bishop Matz's lectures, which will be found entertaining, if not scientifically instructive:

"Nothing could be more anomalous, abnormal and ridiculous than the position of Socialists claiming to be Godly and Christian men. If ever the devil did travesty the angel, he did it in Socialism.

"In the famous romance of Gil Blas we read of a beggar seated by the wayside in a lonely spot, asking for alms in the name of God, while pointing a gun at your head.—A fair specimen of the Socialist who, in the name of Christianity, holds you up for what you possess. In a romance such things are amusing, but when the lone bandit suddenly conjures around him an armed band 100,000 strong, and the romance passes into reality, threatening life and property, and the very existence of society, it is high time for society to wake up and prepare to save itself.

"This is the condition we are facing now. The sooner we prepare to meet it the better."

The following is a pungent bit from the reply of the Federation to their saintly antagonist:

"The Catholic Church condemns Socialism. We deny it. Bishop Matz condemns Socialism, because 'The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib.'"

While the attacks of Bishop Matz on the Federation did not frighten that organization into altering its plans, nevertheless, as the Bishop had designated the Socialist as a highway robber, his remarks and advice, to a certain extent, justified the extreme measures taken shortly after by the Mine Owners' Association, Smelter Trust, Citizens' Alliance, the Governor and Supreme Court, and the Pinkerton Agency.

As an illustration of the attitude of the Citizens' Alliance toward organized labor, we quote below a few remarks by Herbert George, one of the founders of the organization and the editor of its official organ. He said at a mass meeting of the Alliance at the Denver Chamber of Commerce, May 11th, 1903:

"Labor unions are a natural result of conditions, and they consist of a lot of people who are not as bright as they might be. These are led by a lot of tricky fellows who break into the legislature instead of the penitentiary."

As this statement received the thunderous applause of his delighted listeners, the reader can decide whether the Citizens' Alliance was favorable to the cause of labor.

To further help the reader form a correct opinion, we will remark that J. C. Fraser, superintendent of the Pinkerton office at Denver, became a member of the Alliance, the Agency paying his annual dues.

All these great forces were primarily organized for the purpose of insuring victory in the effort to drive the Western Federation out of Colorado, although the leaders in this movement claimed to champion the cause of the people against a band of assassins who posed as trade unionists. They told the people that they were friendly toward every union outside of the Western Federation of Miners; but these statements could only mislead those who have eyes and see not.

For, when corporate wealth, intoxicated with victory over the Western Federation, beheld the coal miners in Southern Colorado striking for just conditions, they hurled themselves with overwhelming force on the Coal Miners' Union, the conservative United Mine Workers of America, and after a short reign of terror mercilessly suppressed the "Rebellion."

It was this remorseless campaign against the coal miners which showed the devil in his true colors. For, while it demonstrated that the Western Federation was particularly obnoxious on account of its Socialistic tendencies, it also proved that capital in the long run was ready at any time to cooperate with any movement that would crush labor.

The Pinkerton Agency, if possible, did even better work against the United Mine Workers of America than against the Federation, as will shortly be seen; and this in spite of the following statement of the Messrs. Pinkerton in a book published by the Agency in 1892, entitled "Pinkerton's National Detective Agency and its connection with the labor troubles at Homestead, Pennsylvania."

> "We have always approved and sympathized with labor organizations when directed by honest, capable and conservative leaders. The law-abiding members have no quarrel with us, nor any grievance, or cause, or complaint against us. We have never violated any of their rights. Our detective branch may have sought to ascertain when they intended to strike; but it is only fair and proper that the employers should have this information."

If the Pinkerton Agency still holds to the above declaration, and to the best of our knowledge it does, then no bigger falsehood was ever flaunted in the face of the world. The work of No. 5, No. 43, No. 23, No. 9 and No. 42 is a decisive refutation of the Agency's lying statement, and their work which almost disrupted District No. 15 of the United Mine Workers of America will merely serve to illustrate that old proverbial saying, "Appearances are deceitful."

CHAPTER VII.

THE CRIPPLE CREEK STRIKE.

The greatest grievance that capital ever had against labor has been that labor sometimes commits acts of intimidation and violence in the effort to win a strike. Possibly capital, at different times, has had just grounds for complaints of this nature, and has been entitled to the protection of the State.

The Cripple Creek strike presents a picture of a different nature, and a close inspection discloses that the characters have changed rôles. It is labor which is being crushed in the name of "law and order" by the State Government and a number of other powerful factors in direct violation of the fundamental laws of the United States and the State of Colorado. The laws of the state and the land were impudently trampled upon for two years by the men who had sworn to uphold them, in order to exterminate the Miners' Federation.

Within a month after the inauguration of the general strike in the Cripple Creek district, Governor Peabody was requested by the Mine Owners' Association to send the militia into the district.

At this time everything was quiet and peaceful in the gold camp, and far from violence being threatened, the Federation had effected an amicable settlement with James F. Burns, president of the Portland Gold Mining Company, with the result that over 500 men returned to work. Mr. Burns, it should be explained, was not, and is not now a member of the Mine Owners' Association, and has always been friendly to the Western Federation and other labor unions.

It is more than probable that the call for troops was a direct result of the Federation's settlement with Mr. Burns, as the mine owners knew that the 500 men at work would be heavily assessed for the support of their striking brothers, and the revenue from this source together with the moneys subscribed by organized labor the country over, not to speak of the funds in the Federation treasury, would enable the miners to hold out indefinitely.

Fearful of the consequences of an indefinitely continued struggle, the Mine Owners, as stated before, demanded of Governor Peabody that he send the militia into the camp in order to create disturbances by acts of violence against the strikers. They offered to furnish the money for the maintenance of the troops, receiving from the State, however, interest-bearing warrants for all moneys so furnished.

The Governor gravely replied that he realized the crying necessity for the militia in Cripple Creek, but that he considered it necessary to send a commission into the camp to investigate and report upon the conditions. The governor then ordered a few regiments of the militia to prepare for active service in the field, arranged for special trains with one of the railroad companies, and when everything was ready for the troops to leave on an instant's notice, His Excellency appointed the following persons as his commission of investigation: Attorney-General N. C. Miller, Brigadier General John Chase, of the State Militia, and Lieutenant T. E. McClelland, an officer of the militia, and also a lawyer.

The way this military commission performed its duty puts us in mind of a court martial in an absolute monarchy where the sovereign instructs the judges, even before the commencement of the trial, to pass sentence of death; and while the accused is being taken before the tribunal, men are already digging his grave.

The commission arrived in Victor at 9.15 P. M., Sept. 3, 1903. Mayor French, of Victor, and a few members of the Mine Owners' Association met them at the depot and escorted them to a private consultation room in the rear of the bank of Victor, where they remained in session until 11.00 P. M. The commission then boarded an electric car and rode to Cripple Creek. On arrival they proceeded to the National Hotel where Sheriff Robertson of Teller County awaited them.

For two hours, between 12.30 and 2.30 A. M., Sheriff Robertson and the commission were in conference. The sheriff solemnly assured the commission that there was no quieter district in the United States than Teller County; that the strikers were orderly and peaceful; that no violence, excepting here and there a little street fight, had occurred; that there was not the least danger of riots or destruction of property; that he, the sheriff, had the situation well in hand, and that the state troops were not needed in the county.

About three hours later the commission left for Denver. Before boarding the train they wired the governor that a reign of terror existed in the district, and that they did not believe the civil authorities were able to cope with the situation.

Mayor French, of Victor, acting under instructions of the Mine Owners' Association, wired the governor along the same lines.

The commission arrived in Denver at 11.00 o'clock A. M., Sept. 4th, and one-half hour later 1,200 men and officers were under orders to move on Cripple Creek. At 4.15 P. M. the first special train carrying troops left the city, followed by a second special that night.

In less than twenty-four hours after their *appointment* the commission was back in Denver, and troops were on the way to Cripple Creek. No real investigation had been made; the labor side of the question had not been heard at all. But then, is not the word of a mine magnate worth more than the word of a representative of labor? And is not the demand of a smelter manager of more weight than the solemn assurances of the sheriff of a county?

The gross misrepresentation of facts which served as a pretext for sending the State troops into the district will prepare the reader for a recital of some of the lawless acts committed by the military, and in addition will serve as a warning to people against permitting high offices of State to be occupied by men who have only the interests of the great corporations at heart, and who, in their abject worship of the golden calf, forget their manhood and their sacred honor.

The governor repeatedly assured the people that he had simply sent the troops into the Cripple Creek district to assist the civil officers in maintaining the peace, and that he had not and would not proclaim martial law. But while he was making these statements to the press, his lieutenants in the field, by and with his authority and consent, were guilty of excesses that would beggar the doings of a Russian military dictator.

A few days after the military arrived, C. G. Kennison, president of Miners' Union No. 40, was arrested without a warrant and placed in solitary confinement in a military guard house, commonly styled a bull pen; and a day or two later Sherman Parker, president of District Union No. 1 of the Federation, along with three other union men, was treated in a like manner.

None of these men was permitted to consult counsel. The military officers insolently refused to give any reasons for the incarceration. The attorneys for the Federation then instituted habeas corpus proceedings before District Judge W. P. Seeds, of Teller County; but pending the hearing which was set for Sept. 21st, General Bell issued a proclamation, wherein he stated that among other articles of war he intended to enforce the following:

ARTICLE 45: Whosoever relieves the enemy with money, victuals or ammunition, or knowingly harbors or protects an enemy, shall suffer death, or such other punishment as a Court Martial may direct.

ARTICLE 46: Whosoever holds correspondence with or gives intelligence to the enemy either directly or indirectly shall suffer death, or such other punishment as a Court Martial may direct.

While General Bell did not have the hardihood to enforce his proclamation to the letter, it served the purpose of the Mine Owners' Association.

In the first place, why did General Bell issue this proclamation? And in the second place, who was the enemy he had reference to? We will answer the second question first. The only enemy General Bell could possibly mean was the Western Federation of Miners; and the reason he published the proclamation was, to outlaw the Federation by designating it as an enemy of the Commonwealth.

However, those against whom the proclamation was especially directed were the 500 Federation miners employed on the Portland mine. These men, loyal to their comrades, contributed heavily to the support of the strikers. But if this proclamation were enforced, the management of the Portland mine could be arrested for giving employment to members of the Federation who were up in rebellion against the State of Colorado. Under Article 45, James F. Burns, president of the Portland Mine, and his associates in the management could be sentenced to death. But as the court martial could order any other punishment it saw fit, it would instead merely close down the mine, and put a military guard at the property.

In this way over 500 men who had helped to support the strikers would themselves be rendered destitute and forced to ask aid of the Federation. It was hoped the Federation could not stand this additional drain and would thus be forced to give up the struggle.

But everything was so quiet in the gold camp that even the reckless General Bell did not immediately dare to carry out this outrageous plan.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CRIPPLE CREEK STRIKE—CONTINUED.

Monday, September 21st, 1903, was an eventful day in the history of the State of Colorado, for events transpired on that day in Cripple Creek that almost gave the lie to our boasted American liberty.

District Judge Seeds, of Teller County, had issued writs of habeas corpus for Sherman Parker, C. H. McKinney, Charles Campbell and James Lafferty, returnable, after the original date had been extended, on September 21st.

The military kept these four men imprisoned in a bull pen without warrant and without charges of any kind against them.

On the afternoon of September 21st, shortly before court convened, a detachment of infantry and cavalry surrounded and took possession of the Court House, and soon armed guards were stationed at every door and approach. A Gatling gun was placed in position so that it commanded the main approach to the court, and a number of sharp-shooters were stationed on the roof of the National Hotel, which is opposite the court building.

Rifles and small arms were loaded and made ready for instant action. No one was allowed to enter the Court House unless he could produce a pass signed by the military commander.

At last Brigadier General Chase hove in sight at the head of a company of cavalry, in whose midst were the four prisoners.

General Chase, his staff, and about thirty heavily armed guards, out of respect for the court, left their horses outside of the court room; but to make up for this courtesy, the guards were ordered to stand in the court room throughout the proceedings, their backs to the judge—arms at present a living, meaningful show of defiance and contempt of that very law which the governor and military seemed so anxious to protect.

For several days this disgusting spectacle was repeated, until on Thursday, Sept. 24th, the judge decided that the prisoners were held unlawfully by the military, and ordered their immediate release.

As soon as Judge Seeds announced his decision, General Chase arose from his seat and informed the judge that he would not release the prisoners excepting he were ordered to do so by "His Excellency the Governor and Commander in Chief." The soldiers then secured the prisoners, and, with their general at their head, insolently tramped out of the court room, and rode back to their camp.

Governor Peabody must have become somewhat alarmed at the turn events were taking, for he wired General Chase that same evening to liberate the men, and liberated they were. But their release on the order of the governor could not wipe out the affronts and indignities that had been heaped on Judge Seeds and the District Court of Teller County by the military ruffians.

The following is an extract from the closing remarks of Judge Seeds' decision:

> "I trust that there will never again be such an unseemly and unnecessary intrusion of armed soldiers in the halls and about the entrances of American Courts of Justice. They are intrusions that can only tend to bring this court into contempt, and make doubtful the boasts of that liberty that is the keynote of American Government."

The invasion of the District Court by armed soldiers, and their behavior toward Judge Seeds moved the people of Colorado to the highest degree of indignation, and it is almost a miracle that a real rebellion did not break out in the State.

However, not only did no rebellion occur, but the leaders of the Federation kept on admonishing the miners to remain calm and peaceful in spite of every provocation; and these instructions were faithfully followed by the strikers, whose sober, cool-headed conduct merely served as a back-ground to set off in lurid glare the unscrupulous acts of the State administration and the militia.

From now on the Mine Owners' Association did not hesitate to do anything that would injure the persons, property, or cause of the strikers. The Cripple Creek district was now indeed in the iron grasp of a vicious and lawless body of men, acting together for the purpose of resisting the laws of the state, and trampling rough-shod upon the rights of American citizens.

The militia, after its previous acts, went a step further, and attempted to throttle the freedom of the press.

The Victor Daily Record, from the beginning of the strike, had espoused the cause of the strikers and defended the Western Federation. It printed the daily bulletins of the Miners' Union, and in other ways rendered valuable assistance to the miners. It goes without saying that the Record was opposed to the presence of the military and exercised its legal rights to criticize the actions of the militia, General Bell and Governor Peabody.

The Mine Owners' Association decided to suppress the paper, and thus, as it were, cut off the miners' communications. General Bell, when instructed by the mine owners to close down the Record, was nothing loth. The paper had printed statements derogatory to the military and their commanders, which was against the Rules or Articles of War. It had laid itself open to well-merited punishment. And this punishment came swiftly.

On the night of Sept. 29th, General Bell caused a strong force of cavalry to surround the office of the Victor Record, arrested Editor George C. Kyner and all the employees of the paper and put them in the bull pen. The General then cooly gave out the statement that he would arrest any other employees the paper might hire, if they printed anything adverse to or not to the liking of the military.

We know that the reason for closing down this paper was more its friendly attitude toward labor than its antagonism to the military; yet the reader can see for himself that whichever motive prompted General Bell to take this high-handed measure, the moral is just as painful and disagreeable, and only goes to show that our great corporations are just as ready to rob the masses of their liberty, as they are to rob them of their money.

What if the Victor Daily Record did oppose, criticise and cartoon the militia and encourage the strikers to hold out? Is not free speech and free press one of the fundamental laws of the United States? Is not this right solemnly guaranteed to every person throughout the length and breadth of the land? We would not perhaps attach so much importance to this wild escapade of General Bell were it not for the fact that his action was sustained by the Governor of Colorado, and was not rebuked by the Federal Government.

The Mine Owners' Association and militia had expected that the arrest of the entire staff of the Record would cripple, if not destroy, the offending sheet, but they were grievously disappointed. The Record appeared the morning after, on time, and in pretty fair shape. The spirit and indomitable energy of a woman foiled the well-planned, successfully-executed scheme of the allies.

This woman was Mrs. Emma F. Langdon, wife of one of the linotype operators of the Record. Informed in the dead of night of the military raid, Mrs. Langdon hurried down to the office, worked hard all night at a linotype machine, and with the help of the business manager of the Record the paper was ready for distribution at the regular hour, to the amazement and chagrin of the mine owners and General Bell.

General Bell saw that unless he kept a military guard constantly at the office of the Record, for the express purpose of preventing the paper from appearing, he could not hope to suppress it. The General, it seems, shrunk from taking a step like this, and acknowledged defeat by releasing Editor Kyner and his employees after two days' imprisonment.

Labor throughout the state and country was very angry at the way the Record had been treated, and thousands of resolutions were passed, condemning General Bell and Governor Peabody.

We shall soon see whether public opinion prevailed on the Colorado administration to act fairly with all citizens, irrespective of the size of their pocket-books.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CRIPPLE CREEK STRIKE—CONTINUED.

For over a month things were quiet in Teller County. The troops left the strikers alone, and contented themselves with loafing around the different camps. The miners were calm, orderly, and firmer than ever in their demands of fair play for the smeltermen.

This peaceful state of affairs continued until Nov. 16th.

During the night of Nov. 16th, 1903, someone loosened a rail on the Florence & Cripple Creek Railroad on a high embankment near the town of Anaconda, by removing the spikes that held the rail in place. This felonious act was committed shortly before the arrival of a train which carried a large number of both union and non-union men.

No wreck occurred, as Engineer William Rush had received a "tip" that a rail had been tampered with, and his informant even told him where the act had taken place. On the strength of this information the engineer stopped his train just before the fatal spot, made an examination, and discovered that sure enough one of the rails has been loosened. Engineer Rush reported the case to his company, and the company officials quickly gave this information to General Bell.

At last the military had some work to do. In a few hours they had arrested two men, Charles McKinney and P. H. Mullaney, whom they charged with the crime of unspiking the rail for the purpose of wrecking train No. 51.

General Bell, as usual, talked freely, and gave out the statement that he was prepared to protect his prisoners at all hazards, and that he would not hesitate to shoot the entire population of Colorado if they attempted to secure possession of the prisoners. We cannot comment on this statement, as we believe the General himself did not know what he was talking about when he made it.

We will go somewhat into detail concerning this case, because it has brought to light the interesting probability that the Mine Owners' Association actually hired men to loosen the rail on the Florence & Cripple Creek Railroad, and then had some one give Engineer Rush a tip as to the impending calamity. Their object in playing this comedy was, to turn it into a tragedy for the Western Federation of Miners by accusing that organization of having plotted to wreck a train, so that the stigma of attempted train-wrecking would entirely discredit the Miners' Union with the public.

This was undoubtedly the object of the mine owners, for they caused Thomas Foster, Sherman Parker and W. F. Davis, three of the most prominent executive leaders of the Federation in the district, to be arrested and indicted for this offense. The mine owners and General Bell were loud in their boasts that they had evidence sufficient to convict, and they were backed in their assertions by Detectives D. C. Scott and K. C. Sterling, both in the employ of the railroad and the Mine Owners' Association.

The miners investigated the case so thoroughly that when it came up for trial they not only absolutely vindicated their leaders, but fastened the crime on the right parties; but as these parties were no other than Detectives Scott and Sterling, the case was never prosecuted.

Victor Maher, a butcher in the union store at Victor, testified that he happened to be out late the night of the attempted derailing, and that he passed the place while the rail was being loosened. He claimed that he saw Detective Scott and a short, heavily-built man do the work. The witness was asked to identify Scott among the crowd in the court room, and, while pointing an accusing finger at the tool of the mine owners, he said, "This is the man now standing up that I saw with a bar in his hand, or a piece of steel."

Engineer Rush's evidence was still more damaging. The engineer stated that a day previous to the attempted wrecking, he was approached by Detective Scott, and asked where there was a good place to derail a train. According to engineer Rush's testimony, Detective Scott suggested one point, but he, the engineer, suggested another place, about 200 yards farther south. When questioned by counsel as to which place was chosen for the derailing, the engineer said, "Yes, it was at the very place that I suggested."

The evidence of Charles McKinney, state's evidence and star witness, created a sensation.

It was brought out that he had been a member of a gang of cattle and horse thieves operating on the line between Kansas and Nebraska, and that he had fled from there for fear of landing in the penitentiary. After coming into the Cripple Creek district he was known under various aliases.

It appeared that McKinney was a mental degenerate, and that the Mine Owners' Association took advantage of this fact by having him sign confessions wherein he implicated Foster, Parker and Davis in a plot to wreck the Florence & Cripple Creek train, and stating besides the amount of money they had agreed to pay him for his deed.

The reader can form an opinion as to McKinney when we state that he also made and signed confessions which he gave to counsel for the Western Federation, wherein he stated that he did not know anything about the crime with which he was charged; that the men he accused were innocent, and that the confessions he had made were written by him at the instigation of Detectives Scott and Sterling.

Counsel for the Federation also produced a letter McKinney had written in jail to his wife, wherein he exonerated the union prisoners. While these conflicting confessions were of themselves sufficient to invalidate his testimony, McKinney nevertheless attempted to square himself by stating that all his confessions were false, excepting the ones he had made to Detectives Scott and Sterling.

When cross-examined by counsel he said he would do the same kind of a job for $250.00; that he had attempted several times to wreck a Florence & Cripple Creek train; that the union had plotted everything; and that he would wreck a train or commit most any kind of a crime for money.

After staying out for thirty minutes the jury returned a verdict of not guilty for Foster, Parker and Davis.

The attempted derailing of F. & C. C. train No. 51 is a remarkable case, as it proves that organized capital will go to any lengths to crush organized labor. Let us make a little analysis of the case.

The train in question carried a great number of union miners, as well as non-union men. What good would it have done the Federation to commit such a frightful crime in the first place, and in the second place, is it possible that the Federation would have murdered a number of its own members just for the sake of killing some non-union men? There might have been some little ground upon which to base such an accusation if Governor Peabody, General Bell, Manager MacNeill, Secretary Hamlin of the Mine Owners' Association, or some other person very obnoxious to the miners had been on that train.

There was therefore no visible motive that could have prompted the Federation to authorize the commission of such a fiendish deed, and no one knew better than the Federation officials that violence of such a character would only arouse public sentiment.

against them, and serve as an excuse for the most extreme measures by the military.

Again, the testimony brought out at the trial proves beyond the shadow of a doubt that the Mine Owners' Association conspired to destroy the reputation of the Western Federation of Miners by levelling the charge of train-wrecking against their leaders. It is possible that if the association had chosen more skilled tools their plot would have carried, enabling them to send three innocent men to the penitentiary.

McKinney was an idiot, pure and simple; and their detectives, Scott and Sterling, were clumsy bunglers. Had they been in the employ of the Pinkerton Agency, they would have been discharged at once for their awkward work. Scott committed a serious indiscretion in asking engineer Rush to designate a good place for derailing the train.

The tip that the engineer got as to the impending catastrophe, clearly demonstrates that it was the object of the Mine Owners' Association to humiliate and discredit the Federation, but not to cause a wreck and loss of life. The fact that the rail was unspiked at the very place suggested by engineer Rush to Detective Scott, indicates that either Scott did the work himself or instructed some one else to do it. The evidence of Victor Maher, who was an eye witness to the unspiking of the rail, proves conclusively that Detective D. C. Scott with another man, possibly Detective Sterling, actually did the work.

A brave and impartial jury rendered justice. Yet, notwithstanding that the verdict of the court was in favor of the Federation, the Mine Owners' Association, State administration, the military and the Pinkerton Agency kept on insisting that this crime was the work of the INNER CIRCLE of the Western Federation of Miners, and to this day the Federation remains charged with it.

We have analyzed this case with a purpose in view;

namely, to show that the public must be careful, in the future, about believing the official statements of the blue-blooded Anarchists known as mine owners, trust magnates, smelter officials, et al. If the mine owners stooped to conspire with a degenerate like McKinney against the liberty of three men and the fair name of thousands, we have a right to doubt any further statements or charges made by this unscrupulous band.

During the time of the troubles in the different mining camps, the Mine Owners' Association censored all newspaper accounts of the doings of the military in the alleged rebellious districts, and only allowed such news to be printed as was adverse to the miners.

The Rocky Mountain News, of Denver, which refused to be muzzled, was boycotted by the different monopolies, and forced to put up a strong fight for the right to print news as it occurred.

The courts were insulted, threatened, humiliated and abused by the military.

In view of all these facts, we now ask: Is it not possible, aye probable, that the subsequent trouble in the Cripple Creek district, namely the Vindicator explosion and the terrible explosion at the Independence depot, was the deliberate work of tools of the Mine Owners' Association, and not of the Federation?

Is it not possible, or rather probable, that the long list of crimes with which the Federation has been charged during the last ten or twelve years is made of the same cloth as the lying accusations and charges which were disproved in the Cripple Creek district?

Is it not more than probable that the alleged confession which James McParland, of the Pinkerton Agency, secured from convict Harry Orchard, and upon the strength of which he would like to hang President Charles Moyer, Secretary-Treasurer William D. Haywood and George A. Pettibone, of the Western Federation of Miners, for the murder of ex-Governor Steunenberg of Idado, is on a par with the confession of Charles McKinney?

Let the reader judge for himself for the present. We will soon study and analyze those matters.

CHAPTER X.

THE CRIPPLE CREEK STRIKE—CONTINUED.

A few days after the Florence & Cripple Creek Railroad job, a tragedy occurred in the Vindicator Mine, which shocked the entire district. Supt. Charles McCormick and shift boss Melvin Beck were killed instantly by a terrific explosion of giant powder at the six-hundred-foot level of the mine.

Was this explosion the result of a conspiracy, or was it a mere accident? One would naturally suppose that a thorough investigation would have been the first thing instituted; but here is what actually did take place.

The Miners' Unions immediately held meetings and passed resolutions expressive of their sorrow, demanding a thorough investigation, and condemning in the strongest language the perpetrators of the outrage, if it should be found that the explosion was not accidental. The union further offered to assist in clearing up the unfortunate event.

The allied forces at once raised a terrible cry that the Inner Circle of the Federation of Miners had caused the explosion.

Instead of troubling to make an investigation, General Bell promptly arrested over a dozen of the most prominent Federation leaders, among them Sherman Parker and C. G. Kennison, and threw them into the bull pen. He then instructed his cavalry to patrol the district day and night, and when he had thus secured the Cripple Creek district from the dynamiting outlaws of the Inner Circle, he summoned the representatives of the press, and made this declaration:

"Conditions in Cripple Creek and Telluride are simply awful. The average citizen of the State has no idea of the critical conditions in the two camps. People of both camps

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are beginning to awaken to the danger they have been placed in by the conspirators, and but for the military there would surely have been a lynching bee or two before this.

"The conspiracy in Cripple Creek was gigantic. We have positive information that the intention of the conspirators was to blow up four more mines. In this way they hoped to scare the miners and close up the entire camp.

"After blowing up the Vindicator the plans were to blow up one mine after another. This was to occur Sunday and Monday. The conspirators well knew that the military would be on their way to Telluride, and they hoped to catch the soldiers between here and Telluride. In that way they thought they would put Governor Peabody up against it. They expected to throw him off his guard. The conspiracy further included the touching off of a mine in Telluride if necessary.

"It was a deep-laid plot and would have carried to perfection, but for the prompt sending of the military to Cripple Creek, the surrounding of the town and the prompt arrests."

About a week after this confident utterance, the coroner's jury brought in a verdict that they were unable to determine the exact cause of the explosion.

Notwithstanding the decision of the coroner's jury, the military kept Parker, Kennison and a number of others in the bull pen for many weeks, on the charge of conspiring to blow up the Vindicator mine. When the case finally came up for trial the prosecution had no evidence to speak of, and all the accused were given their liberty.

But even after the accused union men were formally acquitted, the allied forces still charged the Federation with the crime, and to this day they will hold up their hands in horror, and tell you the blood-curdling story how the Western Federation of Miners blew up the Vindicator mine in 1903.

The only thing to be said as to the assertions of the military and Mine Owners' Association is this: If, indeed, they had information as to the identity of those men who blew up the Vindicator mine, and intended to blow up the rest of the Cripple Creek district, it was their duty to give this information to the public authorities, so that the guilty parties could be hanged for the murder of Mr. McCormick and Mr. Beck. The refusal of the mine owners and military to divulge this information, makes them accessories to the crime; or if, on the other hand, despite their claims, they did not possess any evidence, it simply shows them up to be liars.

Henceforth the military became so active that people ceased speculating as to what they might do next.

General Bell, doubtless prompted by an abler mind than his, got up one plan which was certainly very shrewd, and dared he have executed it, the strike would have been quickly broken. This plan was known as the "Vagrancy Arrest Scheme."

Over two thousand miners were on strike, and received support from the Federation. Many of these miners owned property and had funds of their own, besides the relief given them by the union. These facts were well known to the mine owners and military, but not in an official sense. Officially they only knew that there were over 2,000 men in the district who had thrown down their usual employment, and were loafing around, with no visible means of support.

According to the proclamation of Governor Peabody, Teller County was in a state of insurrection and rebellion. The military knew that a couple of thousand men were idle and existed without any visible means of support, which was a very suspicious circumstance. In the opinion of the military, it was against the interests of the public safety to permit such a large body of men to remain idle during the continuance of the rebellion, therefore, here is what they proposed to do:

To ignore the fact that there was a strike in progress, to designate the strikers as vagrants or tramps, and arrest them en masse as such.

These vagrants and tramps would then be brought before a justice of the peace, who would impose a heavy fine on each of them; but being a kind-hearted judge, and not wishing to impose a hardship on the poor tramps, he would suspend the fine, on condition that they go to work, or leave the camp. As a majority of the strikers were married men and property owners, it was hoped by the allies that they would give up the struggle in despair.

If only a few dozen men had been involved, the scheme would have worked well; but the strikers numbered about two thousand, and to execute it against such a number of people shocked even the iron nerve of the military, so that it all ended in talk, for a while. We shall have occasion to see how, in an improved and amended form, this plan was successfully accomplished.

The attempted derailing of a train and the explosion at the Vindicator mine terribly alarmed Governor Peabody, for on December 3rd, 1903, he placed Teller County under martial law.

The governor's proclamation reads so like a declaration of war against the striking miners, that we must believe it was composed for him by the secretary of the Mine Owners' Association. Here is an extract:

> "There exists in Teller County. State of Colorado, *one or more organizations* controlled by desperate men who are intimidating the civil authorities, and who are setting at defiance the Constitution and laws of the State of Colorado, so that the citizens of said County of Teller, by reason of threats, intimidation and crimes, committed by certain lawless persons in said County, are unable to enjoy their civil rights in the judgment of the commander of the military forces holding it, and it is now found to be necessary to preserve order and maintain quiet by the administration of military authority.
>
> "The military district commander, therefore, will cause the County to be governed until the restoration of municipal authority, and his further orders by military authority, as a measure for which it would seem the previous recital furnishes sufficient precedent."

We would ask but two questions, namely: Who overthrew municipal government in Teller County? Who defied the constitution of the United States and of Colorado, and defied, intimidated and insulted the District Court of Teller County?

The following extract from the governor's proclamation is also interesting:

> "All persons, who may heretofore have given aid and solicitation to any of the *heretofore mentioned organizations*, or have been in their service, who shall return to peaceful occupation and preserve quiet and order, holding no further correspondence, *nor giving aid nor comfort* to the heretofore mentioned organizations, will not be disturbed either in person or property, except so far, under the orders of the military district commander, as the exigencies of the public service may render necessary."

This proclamation was really in the nature of a bluff, because even before the issuance of a formal order the county was under the absolute domination of the military. But the allies thought that the miners might possibly be frightened into giving up the struggle when they discovered that the civil authority of the county had been replaced by the arbitrary and tyrannical ordinances of martial law, court martial and articles of war.

The last part of the proclamation is of particular interest, as it was actually addressed to the five hundred union miners working for Mr. James F. Burns of the Portland mine. It implied a threat.

In so many words this part of the proclamation told the Portland miners that if they would cease supporting their striking comrades, they would not be disturbed either in person or property; but that, if they persisted in contributing to the strike fund of the Federation, all the trials and persecutions that usually follow in the wake of martial law would be let loose on their devoted heads.

The union miners working in the Portland mine knew well enough that they might expect the worst if they disobeyed the governor's proclamation; but they remained true to their principles, and kept on working, and contributed their money as regularly as ever to the support of their striking brothers.

It did not take the state administration long to find out that their bull-dozing tactics could not intimidate the Federation into hoisting the white flag. But if the military could make no impression on the Federation, they could at least harass and annoy them; and with this laudable object in view, they placed a censor over the Victor Daily Record, the official organ of the miners, and thenceforth the Record had to submit copies of its daily editorials to the military censor.

As a result of the actions of Governor Peabody and General Bell, conditions in Teller County, Colorado, were so unique, and presented such interesting pictures of legalized anarchy, that it is a wonder so little attention was paid to them by the lynx-eyed reformers of our country.

It is equally a problem to understand why the President of the United States, who is such a great hand at making and unmaking republics and righting far distant wrongs, despite the fervent appeals and prayers of the workers of Colorado, turned a deaf ear to all entreaties, without saying a single word of reproof, without doing a single act on behalf of outraged justice.

CHAPTER XI.

THE CRIPPLE CREEK STRIKE—CONTINUED. THE WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS.

One of the most noteworthy of the many remarkable incidents of the Cripple Creek strike was the case of Victor Poole.

Victor Poole was but an humble, every-day, practical quartz miner. Yet his name is associated with an event of much more than passing interest, the suspension, in his case, of the writ of habeas corpus.

The day following the Vindicator explosion, Victor Poole was arrested by the sheriff of Teller County, on the suspicion of having had something to do with the fatal explosion, but as there was no evidence on which to hold him, he was soon released. For some reason, the military seem to have taken a positive dislike to Victor Poole, for the moment he was released by the civil authorities he was pounced upon by the military, and hustled off in true Russian style to the bull pen.

The military kept Poole in rigorous confinement in the bull pen for several weeks without preferring any charges against him.

As Poole was a member of the Western Federation of Miners, the latter organization, through its attorneys, brought habeas corpus proceedings before Judge Seeds of the District Bench. Judge Seeds granted the writ.

The military commanders and the governor were wroth indeed when they learned that a mere district judge intended to dictate to them as to whether they had the right to deprive a man of his liberty without due warrant of law.

The following proclamation of the governor was the answer to the orders of Judge Seeds:

"Whereas, I have heretofore issued a proclamation declaring an insurrection and rebellion to be in existence in Teller County, and that the lives, liberty and property of the citizens in that county are endangered; and

"Whereas, it is deemed proper that needful measures be taken for the protection of such citizens, their liberty and property, and for the enforcement of law and order in said county; and

"Whereas, it has been deemed necessary, proper and lawful to place under arrest one Victor Poole, and he is now under arrest and in the custody of military officers in said county, and it is necessary to safety that he be detained under military authority until further orders:

"Now, therefore, I, James H. Peabody, Governor of the State of Colorado by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution of the State of Colorado, and the laws thereof, do hereby declare and proclaim that in my judgment the public safety especially requires that the privileges of the Writ of Habeas Corpus be suspended in his case, to wit, in the case of Victor Poole aforesaid, and I further direct that the said writ be suspended in his case until further ordered by me.

"In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the great seal of State to be affixed at Denver, the State capital, this 9th day of December, A. D., one thousand nine hundred and three."

Governor Peabody's arbitrary suspension of the writ of habeas corpus in the case of Victor Poole created a decided sensation.

Surely, Poole must be a scoundrel of the deepest dye; undoubtedly one of the notorious dynamiters employed by the Federation; or perhaps the military had discovered that he was one of the ringleaders of that monstrous Inner Circle of the Federation which terrorized the entire Rocky Mountain country?

Popular excitement was at the boiling point. Victor Poole, Victor Poole! Wherever you went you were certain to find Victor Poole and habeas corpus the favorite topics of conversation. For the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus is a step so rarely taken by a governor of a state or the President of the United States, that its repeal at any time will arouse and awaken public interest as nothing else can.

All eyes were now turned to the attorneys for the Federation, who lost no time in taking the case to the Supreme Court of Colorado. This high tribunal could not very well refuse to grant the petitioner the hearing he prayed for; and accordingly issued a writ of habeas corpus for Victor Poole, returnable within a reasonable time.

The governor and the military commanders dared not ignore the order of the State Supreme Court in the same contemptuous manner as they had treated the order of District Judge Seeds. Again, they dared not appear before the Supreme Court with Victor Poole, as they well knew that they had stepped beyond all the limits of the law in suspending the writ of habeas corpus. So they decided that they would evade the issue.

The military released Poole, and turned him over to the civil authorities; and on the day appointed for the return of the writ, attorneys for the State appeared before the Supreme Court, and explained that Victor Poole was no longer in the custody of the State, which fact made it impossible for the State to produce him. The attorneys, therefore, prayed that the case be dismissed. The Supreme Court ordered the case dismissed, as the petitioner had already secured his liberty.

In this way the State administration evaded the issue.

Now let us see what the civil authorities did with Poole. On January 9th, 1904, he was brought before a justice of the peace at Cripple Creek. An attorney for the Mine Owners' Association asked for a continuation, on the grounds that the prosecution needed more time in which to gather evidence.

The justice said that Poole had been held in custody long enough for the gathering of any amount of evidence, and ordered his immediate release.

Poole was accordingly released, and neither the military nor anyone else molested him further.

Since the State at no time had one iota of evidence connecting Victor Poole with any crime, why did they deprive him of his liberty for so many weeks in the first place, and why did Governor Peabody, who knew the exact status of the case, suspend the writ of habeas corpus in this case?

Why, indeed?

CHAPTER XII.

THE CRIPPLE CREEK STRIKE—CONTINUED. THE EXPLOSION AT THE INDEPENDENCE DEPOT.

After the Victor Poole case was disposed of, things quieted down rapidly in Teller County, and by the middle of January the Cripple Creek district was again calm and peaceful.

With all this the strike was still on, both miners and owners refusing to concede anything. The governor, seeing that his tactics could not coerce the miners into severing their relations with the hated Federation, began to gradually withdraw the militia from Teller County, until but a mere handful of soldiers remained in the district.

Negotiations looking toward a settlement were commenced several times, but never came to a successful issue.

Thus the winter gave way to spring, and the spring months likewise passed by without either side showing any disposition to sue for peace. During the early part of June, 1904, the Western Federation of Miners held their annual convention in Denver, and among other things considerable attention was given to the Colorado strikes.

The convention sent a committee down to the Cripple Creek district to investigate conditions there and report back to the convention, and there seemed some possibility of a settlement being effected, when an event occurred which indeed ended the strikes in Colorado, but at a dear price to both contending parties.

On Monday, June 6th, 1904, a number of non-union miners, who were about to board a Florence & Cripple Creek train at the station at Independence, were murdered by a terrible explosion of dynamite, which killed thirteen or fifteen miners outright, and entirely destroyed the station. The miners that were killed were blown into fragments of flesh and bone, and many were wounded.

General operative J. N. Londoner (the "eastern capitalist" who once ably deceived the magnates of Butte, Montana), who was working in the district for President Burns, of the Portland mine, hurried to the scene of the tragedy within a few minutes after it took place, and was an eye-witness to all the stormy scenes which agitated Victor and Cripple Creek for the next twenty-four hours.

Operative Londoner wrote up an exhaustive report, and, as we have good reason to believe his report to be accurate, we quote it below, in full.

The operative refers often to a high officer of the militia named Curz, who seemed to be under his orders. This man Curz was hired as an informant by the operative, so that in case the military decided on any measures hostile to Mr. Burns or the Portland mine, Operative Londoner would get to know it through this officer, and warn Mr. Burns. The name "Curz" is an assumed name, and while we know his real name, we will not divulge it, as it would serve no useful purpose.

The rôle of the Pinkerton Agency at this time in working against the military and with an employer of union men, need not cause us undue surprise.

Dear Sir:—

OPERATIVE J. N. L. REPORTS:

Victor, Colo., Monday, June 6th, 1904.

After mailing special reports to the Agency and the client, I went to the F. & C. C. Depot to await the arrival of the train carrying the killed miners. It was said by persons in the waiting crowd, unknown to me, that Sheriff Robertson could not be found at his home or anywhere in the district.

After the train carrying the dead arrived here, Sheriff Robertson came upon the scene and took charge in a very ostentatious manner. The killed miners were blown into unrecognizable masses of flesh and bone, and when the crowd beheld this sight it moved them to tears, and then drove them into a frenzy of indignation.

I talked with a young miner named Miller, employed at the Shutehoff Mine. He said he was within a short distance of the Independence Depot when the explosion occurred. He claims the F. & C. C. train was running slower than usual, and that the train actually stopped before the explosion, and within a few yards of the depot. Miller saw one man blown from the platform in front of the F. & C. C. train, and Miller states the man's head could not have been over six inches from the pilot of the engine, yet the engine did not touch him. Miller states, in his opinion, not over twenty-five pounds of dynamite was used, and he feels sure it was dynamite.

At 4.15 A. M. some of the militiamen began to arrive on the scene. They were in command of Major Naylor, H. C. Moore and Coll. There were no others of prominence on the scene, excepting the civil officers, and none of any consequence had appeared up to the time I left for Colorado Springs.

Witnessing the revolting sight at the depot, the crowd started down the street, where many others were encountered. Erick Johnson, or some one, said to be shift boss of the Portland Mine, was met by the crowd on Fourth Street near Victor Avenue. Nearly everyone in the crowd was condemning the union, calling them vile names, and charging them with the commission of killing the Findley miners. The man said to be Erick Johnson spoke up and said, "You've got no right to charge the union with this crime; get your evidence first; you've got no proof. I am a union man working at the Portland, and I am proud of it, and I have worked as hard as any of you carrying the injured to the hospitals; but, by God, if a union man committed this crime, I will be one of the first to help lynch him." At first I thought Johnson would be attacked, but the crowd left him, still applying vile names to the union men. Another union man was encountered at the corner of Fourth and Victor Avenue. He started to say something when one man in the crowd told him if he would open his mouth he would kill him.

Two non-union miners went into the National Café, where they met a policeman, and pulling their revolvers from their pockets, they shoved them in the face of the policeman, and dared him to take their guns away.

By this time the streets were thronged with non-union miners and sympathizers, and the crowd more and more angered. It was then that a desperate-looking man who was under the influence of drink began a tirade against the union miners employed at the Portland Mine, and a number of men in the crowd took up the cry—they were of the lawless ele-

ment and all unknown to me. There were cries of "Let's go to the Portland and get the s... .. .. out. We'll get them if we have to burn down the whole g.. d..... outfit; they're the gang we want to get first; that's the dump we want to get rid of." Some one suggested they look about for arms and then march on the Portland. There were many such remarks made relative to the Portland, but there was not a known man in the crowd.

As I have said, the situation was growing more desperate every minute, and I was satisfied serious trouble would develop in a few hours; and, too, I believed the Portland Mine would be attacked and the property destroyed. I therefore boarded the 7.50 A. M. Short Line for Colorado Springs to acquaint the client of the condition of affairs. Before leaving Victor, I saw Curz and told him to watch the situation carefully, to enable him to put me in touch with affairs on my return.

I left Victor at 7.50 A. M., arriving in Colorado Springs at 10.30 A. M., immediately going to the client's office. I met Mr. Parkinson and Mr. Bischoff, and was informed the client had just departed for Denver. I made these gentlemen acquainted with the condition of affairs at Victor, and later consulted Asst. Supt. Cary at the Denver Agency, and talked with the client by telephone, receiving instructions to watch the situation at Victor as it affected the Portland property.

I left Colorado Springs at 6.20 P. M. via the Short Line. On the train I met General Reardon, A. A. Rollestone, B. J. Cunningham, and others returning from Denver. *General Reardon and A. A. Rollestone talked of the situation at Victor in a jocular manner, and General Reardon said it was a d..... good thing to get a little advertising with. "We've been too d..... quiet in the district, and now my home town's going to furnish a little music for the boys."* He said there was no truth in the reports of violence, and in the report that Sheriff Robertson had been forced to resign. He said when he got to Victor he was going to take charge of the situation. A. A. Rollestone said simply he was sorry he had not been in Victor to take a hand in the fun.

On arrival of the train at Victor, a squad of militia met the train, examined the passengers closely, and secured two cases of ammunition consigned to them from Denver. Curz met me at the train, and I accompanied him to the Military Club and to the improvised bull pen in the dance hall of the Armory. Curz was the executive officer in active command. *There were one hundred and sixty union miners and sympathizers in the bull pen,* among them being Marshal Mike O'Connell, of Victor; Marshal brothers, of Goldfield; former President O'Neill of the Miners' Union; Davis, of the W. F.

of M. Executive Committee, and Police Judge Gibbons. *Squads of soldiers and citizens were busy bringing union men, agitators and sympathizers.* Major Naylor is acting marshal, and has in his company constantly "Kid" Waters. Wilkes, who is claimed to have assaulted Wardjon, is here to-night, and has been made deputy sheriff.

A train load of soldiers, deputy sheriffs and citizens just left for Independence and Goldfield to bring in all the union men and agitators. The city is in the hands of the militia and citizens, all of whom are armed. Every available citizen is acting as a deputy sheriff and is armed with revolver and rifle. *As soon as I showed my face at the Armory, I was made a deputy sheriff and told to kill any union man or sympathizer that said a word to me. All the mine owners, managers and superintendents are commissioned as deputy sheriffs. There is considerable talk of taking out the strong union leaders from the bull pen and hanging them,* and at this time the streets are thronged with people from all over the district.

As soon as Curz could get away we went to my room, and he gave me a synopsis of the events of the day. At the scene of the explosion, pieces of dynamite, caps and cans were found, and a wire three hundred feet in length found running from the depot platform to a point near the Delmonico Mine. At the end of this wire was attached a chain leg, around which the wire was wound eight or ten times. *A meeting of the mine owners, managers and citizens was called at the Military Club,* at which was discussed ways and means of handling the situation, and it was decided to demand the resignation of Sheriff Robertson and other officials. It was also decided to call a mass meeting to be held on the corner of Fourth and Victor Avenue. While a committee went in search of Sheriff Robertson, Marshal O'Connell got together a number of union men and made them deputies. O'Connell said he was going to clean out the militia. *Sheriff Robertson was brought to the Military Club amidst the howling and jeers of the people. Sheriff Robertson was asked to resign, and he refused to do so. A number of men procured a rope, made a noose, and gave Robertson five minutes to decide.* In the meantime, willing hands had torn out the bill boards in the space adjoining the Armory, and a space made clear to hang the Sheriff; but Robertson, glancing out at the angry mob, sat down and signed his resignation, saying, "Boys, you've got the drop on me, and I know they'd hang me." O'Connell and his men came to the Armory, and O'Connell came in and demanded the release of Robertson. O'Connell was kicked out of the building. Ed. Bell, interested in the El Paso Mine, was appointed sheriff, and immediately gathered about him a number of newly appointed deputies and started out to disarm O'Connell and his deputies.

The mass meeting had been called at Fourth and Victor Avenue, and a great crowd was standing about, awaiting the speakers. C. C. Hamlin had spoken only five minutes, when the shooting began. The shots came from the Miners' Union Hall, and a man standing in the doorway of the union store on Victor Avenue was firing into the crowd. There is no doubt the attempt was made to kill C. C. Hamlin, and a bullet grazed his hand, but caused no other injury to him. The militia, under the command of Curz, was called out and soldiers placed on the roofs of buildings opposite the Miners' Union Hall, on the Gold Coin shaft house, and on the Baltimore Hotel, in the rear of the hall. *There was no request to surrender, but the soldiers were given command and began firing into the Miners' Union Hall. After twenty minutes of continuous firing,* the miners exhibited a white flag from the window of their hall. Forty-four men were made prisoners, four men were found wounded, and one miner was in a dying condition. The militia captured a wagon-load of rifles, thirty six-shooters, two barrels of ammunition, and provisions enough to last the men several days. *All of the union's records, papers and paraphernalia was taken out and much of it destroyed.* Guards were placed at the hall.

Curz said they had been informed the man that set off the dynamite mine ran to the Portland Shaft No. 3 and got away through this shaft. Curz did not know where the information came from. Curz said a number of Portland miners were among those confined in the bull pen. Curz said it also was reported at the Armory, a wagon-load of guns had been taken to the Portland Mine during the day. Curz said the union store at Goldfield was destroyed, and all of the goods from the Victor union store thrown out. The union store at Cripple Creek was also taken possession of and guards were placed in all of these stores.

Private Harn of the militia arrested a man named Miller, and he, with two others, are confined in the Armory under a heavy guard, charged with inciting riot and committing murder.

Curz said the present plan is to hold separate the confined miners in two or three parties, and try them by Vigilance Committees and endeavor to hang the leaders. Curz said the plan was to go after the Portland men to-morrow. There would be no attempt to injure the Portland property, and they will endeavor to take the men after they have left the mine. Curz said a number of people at the Military Club during the day made remarks that Mr. Burns ought to close down or declare the mine strictly non-union. Curz said, including those killed at Independence, the number killed to-day is eighteen.

Kyner, of the "Victor Record," was taken to the bull pen, but several Shriners demanded Kyner's release, and two soldiers said if Kyner, who was a Brother Shriner, was not released they would throw down their arms, so Kyner was set free.

When General Reardon arrived to-night he went to the Military Club, and started in to raise trouble. He told the officers and the boys they were not doing right, and had acted without policy in the events of the day. General Reardon went to the bull pen and ordered the release of two or three men. Someone accepted Reardon's orders, and let the men go. One of the men released was a man named Logan, whose brother is a prominent Republican jurist in the East. Reardon told someone he could not afford to create the ill-will of so prominent a Republican.

As soon as it was known what Reardon had done, the men were re-arrested, and Reardon was informed that he would have to get out of the Armory, and if he did not keep his nose out of their affairs, they would throw him into the bull pen. He was told he had nothing to do with the business they had in hand.

Things are quiet enough to-night. Arrests are still being made, and at this hour, 4.00 A. M., they are bringing in two and three men at a time.

Yours respectfully, ...

Before dealing with the Independence horror, we wish to say that up to date the fiends who committed this crime have not been apprehended,—nay, more, no real effort has ever been made by the Mine Owners' Association to capture them.

On the evening of June 6th, District Union No. 1 of the Western Federation of Miners, adopted resolutions denouncing in unmeasured terms the outrage, and offering assistance in capturing the murderers.

The military, mine owners and people in general, seemed to have gone mad. Yet, despite the apparent confusion and anarchy, everything seemed to be done deliberately and systematically. The Mine Owners' Association knew that the explosion had aroused popular feeling to fever heat, and lost no time in taking advantage of it.

It will be noted in Operative Londoner's report that most of those who constituted the yelling, threatening crowds that surged up and down the streets of Victor were desperate characters, mine owners, mine managers and militiamen. It will also be noted in Operative Londoner's report that the mine owners, instead of devising means to capture the fiends who committed the crime, forced Sheriff Robertson of Teller County to resign, by threatening to lynch him on the spot if he refused. Almost all the regularly elected judges, commissioners, and other civil officers of Teller County were forced to resign, and their places, from sheriff down, filled with mine owners and mine superintendents.

After the civil government had been thus violently subverted by the Mine Owners' Association, every union miner in the Cripple Creek district was arrested and thrown into the bull pen.

On the night of June 8th, a number of heavily armed men raided the office of the Victor Record, smashed the entire plant, including the valuable linotype presses, and drove the office force from the district, with a warning never to return, if they valued their lives.

The entire city council of Goldfield was compelled to resign, and then put in the bull pen.

The next step taken by the military was the closing down of the Portland Mine. This was accomplished by General Bell under the following proclamation:

> "Whereas the Portland Mine, situated in Teller County, is, and for a long time has been, engaged in employing and harboring large numbers of dangerous, lawless men who have encouraged and given comfort and assistance to those who have been so guilty of said crimes and outrages, so that said mine has become and now is a menace to the welfare and safety of the good people of said County, and a hindrance to the restoration of peace and good order.
>
> "Now, therefore, by virtue of the power conferred upon

me as commander of the military forces in said County, and as a military necessity, it is ordered that said mine be at once closed, and all persons found therein or thereabouts, who are dangerous to the community, be arrested and held until further orders."

The Portland miners were arrested and placed in the bull pen along with the hundreds of their comrades who had preceded them. Not only were union men arrested, but even those suspected of sympathizing with the union. Among those arrested was Frank J. Hangs, attorney of the Western Federation of Miners.

General Bell next appointed what was known as a "Military Commission on Deportation," consisting of mine owners, mine managers and tools of the Mine Owners' Association. It was the duty of this commission to decide the fate of all the miners and union sympathizers in the military bull pens.

Scenes were now enacted daily in Victor and Cripple Creek that put one in mind of the Revolutionary Tribunal's "Reign of Terror" in France more than a century ago—or the more recent vengeance of capitalism upon the Paris Commune in 1871.

During the days of the French Revolution, all those brought before the Tribunal were merely asked if they were aristocrats. If they were of noble birth, they were invariably sent to the guillotine. In 1871, everyone confessing himself even a theoretical Communist was shot. While the Military Commission on Deportation did not order any executions, yet what it did in free America in 1904 was bad enough.

Let us assume that the commission is in session: John Smith is brought before the tribunal under heavy guard.

President: John Smith, are you a union man?

Smith: Yes, sir.

President: I sentence you to deportation from this district, and warn you never to return, on peril of your life. Officer, take him away!

Tom Brown is brought in.

President: Tom Brown, is it a fact that you sympathize with the union men?

Brown: I do.

President: That's a serious offense against our idea of law and order, and I, therefore, banish you from this district forever. Do not return if you value your life.

James Wilson is brought in.

President: Wilson, were you not talking to a member of the Western Federation of Miners at the time you were arrested?

Wilson: I was.

President: Didn't you know that your doing so was against the provisions of the Articles of War?

Wilson: Perhaps that's so; but the man I spoke with was my own brother, Charles Wilson.

President: Enough! You admit your guilt. I sentence you to be deported from this district, and if you know what's good for yourself, you'll never return. Officer, take him away, and fetch the next prisoner!

This is about as near as one could describe the work of the Military Commission on Deportation. Everyone who was known to be a member of the Western Federation of Miners or a sympathizer of the Federation, was sentenced to deportation. Each day dozens of these men were roughly hustled into special trains, and railroaded out of the State of Colorado under heavy guard, to whatever points General Bell took a notion to banish them.

Hundreds of innocent men were in this way torn from their homes and their families, for no other crime than because they belonged to or sympathized with a union. The Portland miners shared the same fate as the rest of the Federation men, although General Bell had designated them specifically as "dangerous and lawless men." It is strange why these lawless and dangerous men were not held for trial instead of being deported and turned loose beyond the State line.

The actions of the military in this case were perhaps no stranger than the speech of Secretary Hamlin, of the Mine Owners' Association, at the mass meeting referred to in Operative Londoner's report, wherein, instead of appealing to his audience to catch the dynamiters and murderers, he yelled at the top of his voice: "Let us drive the Federation men to the hills!"

We may imagine the plight of the families of the deported miners; how the wives and mothers worried over what was happening to their loved ones; and, besides, they were left destitute, and starvation stared them in the face. To make matters worse for the women and children of the deported miners, all the union stores in the district had been destroyed by the military and mine owners.

The Federation, indeed, tried to help the afflicted families by arranging with some of the large wholesalers of the district to furnish them with supplies, and charge the cost to the Federation. The wholesalers were anxious to fill the large orders of the union, but the military sternly forbade them to furnish the families of the deported miners with supplies of any kind.

The military authorities then informed the Western Federation of Miners that if they wished to send relief to the destitute families, they must turn it over to the "shoulder-straps" for distribution.

Following is a copy of the proclamation to this effect:

Victor, Colo., June 14th, 1904.

SPECIAL ORDER NO. 19.

No organization will be allowed, while this County is under military control, to furnish aid in any form to the members of any organization or their families in this County, unless the same is done through military channels. Major Thomas E. McClelland is Provost Marshall of this military district, and he stands ready to receive from any person or organization any money or other supplies which are for distribution to any persons rendered needy by reason of the military occupation of this County for the suppression of insurrection, and all money and other supplies so furnished will be applied to the relief of the persons above referred to.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE CRIPPLE CREEK STRIKE—CONCLUDED.

The explosion which wrecked the Independence depot, and sent over a dozen non-union miners to death, is one of those events which teach us more in one minute than we could otherwise learn in a lifetime. It is well to look into an occurrence of this kind by a fair and intelligent analysis.

There can be no doubt that the explosion was premeditated, and was the result of as infernal a conspiracy as has ever been hatched by human brains.

There can also be no questioning the fact that there must have been some motive, some incentive; and it is equally certain that the fiend who executed this conspiracy, did the work of ruin and death in consideration of a large sum of money. It is also an indisputable fact that if the dynamiting was the result of a conspiracy, the conspirators must have been either the heads of the Mine Owners' Association or the leaders of the Western Federation of Miners.

As the reader is aware, the Mine Owners promptly laid the crime at the door of the Federation, and with the assistance of the military. drove every union miner from the camp.

The fact that the Western Federation of Miners is a labor order, and the Mine Owners' Association is a society composed of millionaire mine owners and smelter magnates, should not stand in the way of an impartial review of the case.

At the time that the explosion occurred, the strike in the Cripple Creek and Telluride districts had already dragged on for a year. During this time the miners had seen and passed through enough to convince them that the entire Colorado State Administration was in an alliance with the mine owners, smelter trust and coal operators, and would do anything, whether lawful or unlawful, to break the strength of both the Federation and the United Mine Workers of America.

The miners had already had the bitter experiences that quiet, orderly behavior was no protection from the insults and attacks of the State militia. They had seen how their leaders were accused of every crime, and mercilessly persecuted, even after the proper courts had cleared and vindicated them. They had seen how the Mine Owners' Association, in their hatred of the Federation, stooped to conspire with a degenerate in a desperate effort to fasten the crime of attempted train-wrecking upon the union.

The miners were too well aware that they were under constant surveillance by the military, the mine owners, the Citizens' Alliance, and by private detectives. The miners knew that any acts of violence on their part would be revisited a thousandfold by the militia on their heads and on the heads of their families.

Knowing these facts as they did, and assuming Manager McParland's estimate of the Federation to be correct (that the terrible Molly Maguires were but children in comparison with the Federation), can we for a moment believe it possible that an organization so ably led would jeopardize the outcome of a long and bitter struggle so far successful, and imperil the immense interests of their order, by wrecking a petty railroad station, and slaughtering a small number of non-union men?

Is it not safe to assume that the leaders of the Federation knew the conditions in the Cripple Creek district well enough to understand that the murder of a few non-union men would but serve as an excellent excuse for the militia to take summary vengeance on them? Again, is it reasonable to assume that these leaders would give their enemies the very opportunity for which they had been vainly hungering for so many months?

Admitting it to be a fact that the Federation bitterly resented the calumnies and accusations of the allied forces, and also admitting it to be a fact that the Federation was anxious for public vindication from the many charges preferred against them, would it not be ridiculous to assume that the leaders of the Federation would commit an act which would tend to substantiate the charges and alienate that public sympathy and support which alone stood between them and the mailed fist of the military?

Clearly, there was no motive that could have actuated the union to authorize the fatal explosion. Common sense, self-interest, a desire to retain public sympathy, well-grounded fears of the military, alike forbade the serious consideration of such an insane scheme.

When we consider the possible connection of the Mine Owners' Association with the Independence explosion, we find that, although direct evidence cannot be adduced, there is data upon which a tolerably correct conclusion can be based.

Is it not a fact that such an explosion could only redound to the interests of the Mine Owners' Association? Is it possible that an infernal machine could have been placed under the depot, and a wire three hundred feet in length run from the depot to a point near the Delmonico mine, without the ever-vigilant mine owners and detectives discovering the intended outrage? Is it not a matter of significance that directly after the explosion, when popular feeling was at fever heat, the Mine Owners, instead of offering an immense reward for the capture of the assassin, and instituting a vigorous search, played mob law politics and seized the civil government; forced Sheriff Robertson to resign on pain of being hanged, and substituted in his place a member of the Mine Owners' Association; compelled every official connected with the civil government of Teller County to quit his office in favor of some member of their association—is it not like a well planned *coup d'état?*

And is it not more significant still, that in a few months after these events, the Mine Owners' Association bent every energy to elect C. C. Hamlin, their secretary, as district attorney of Teller County, and succeeded in electing him to that important position?

Why did the mine owners take such extraordinary measures to subvert a county administration, when the great majority of the people of the Cripple Creek district and of the State of Colorado were staggered at the horrible death which met fifteen men at the station at Independence?

Was this a time for the millionaire mine owners to think of politics, while the bodies of the victims were still warm? Was this a time for the mine and smelter magnates to impede the judicial machinery of Teller County, when the blood of innocent men cried out from the earth to the high heavens? Yet in just such a black hour as this did the mine owners, with the help of the State militia, accomplish their political *coup d'état?* And in just such a time of suffering and distress as this did the Mine Owners' Association take advantage of widows' cries and orphans' tears, to incite the mobs of militia and civilians against the members of the miners' union.

What evidence can we deduce from the foregoing, which would justify us in pointing an accusing finger at the Mine Owners' Association and saying: "We believe you are the ones responsible for the Independence explosion! We charge you with being the conspirators who sent fifteen innocent men to a terrible death!"

First: Barring the Federation, no one else except the mine owners, would have spent the large sum of money which the dynamiters must have exacted for their bloody work.

Second: If the mine owners had honestly believed that the Federation perpetrated this crime, they would not have deported, en masse, all the unionists from the district, knowing that the assassin or assassins would more than likely be among the men so deported.

Third: The Mine Owners' Association, which was always so ready to charge the Federation leaders with all crimes, whether they had any evidence or not, did not indict a single Federation leader or anyone else, for that matter, for the Independence horror.

Fourth: We hold that the reason the mine owners so completely subverted the civil government of Teller County, was the fear that the old county officials would do everything in their power to run down the conspirators and their tool; and they had particular reason to fear such action on the part of Sheriff Robertson.

Fifth: The election of Secretary Hamlin of the Association to the position of District Attorney of Teller County, goes to show that the mine owners, for obvious reasons, wished to control the office of the public prosecutor.

By acting as they did, the mine owners drove the Federation from the district, not leaving one in the camp who could accuse them of crime, and in addition secured control of the county government as a further safeguard against detection, trial and punishment.

Are we to judge people by what they say, when their acts belie their words? Are we to judge the mine owners merely by their denunciations of the Federation, or are we to judge them by a longer list of infamous acts than has possibly been charged even to the account of the Molly Maguires?

If we are to judge these wealthy mine owners by their talk, then the Western Federation of Miners is guilty of the Independence outrage; but if we are to base our opinion upon their actions, then it would seem that, if there was a conspiracy, the conspirators were none others than the leaders of the Cripple Creek District Mine Owners' Association.

CHAPTER XIV.

NO. 36, GEORGE W. RIDDELL.

Telluride, the county seat and largest city of San Miguel County, plays an interesting part in the stirring events which have made Colorado famous for other things than its climate and mountains.

The occurrences in Telluride are of more than ordinary interest, because of the desperate efforts which Pinkerton's National Detective Agency made to discover here the Inner Circle that directed the outrages alleged to be perpetrated by the Telluride Local of the Western Federation.

The Pinkerton operative who worked on this case was a practical quartz miner, uncommonly shrewd, and far better qualified than the ordinary secret operative to handle the task which had been assigned to him. But as the reader is as yet unaware why the mine owners of this county engaged the services of the Pinkerton Agency, a little explanation will not be out of place.

One day, along toward the end of 1902, Manager Arthur Collins, of the Smuggler Union Mine, was sitting in his home at Telluride when a heavy charge of buckshot was fired at him through an open window, inflicting a wound which soon proved mortal. The identity of the assassin was not known, and has remained a mystery to this day.

Mr. Collins was unpopular with the miners, yet the union disavowed the murder and roundly condemned it. But, despite this action, the mine owners suspected that Mr. Collins had been killed by order of the Western Federation of Miners.

Shortly after, a deputy sheriff named Barney disappeared mysteriously; and, as his whereabouts was never discovered despite a thorough search, the idea gained ground that he had met with foul play and been thrown into some neglected prospect hole.

Here was meat for the Pinkerton people. A representative of the Agency at once proceeded to Telluride, interviewed the mine owners, and took up with them the assassination of Manager Collins, and the probable murder of Barney.

He explained to them that these outrages were undoubtedly the doings of the Inner Circle of the Federation, as the latter organization was, if anything, even worse than the Molly Maguires ever had been. Talking of the Mollies, the Pinkerton agent told his credulous and interested listeners how, some thirty years ago, these banditti had things all their own way in the anthracite coal fields of Pennsylvania; and how James McParland, at the risk of his own life, ran down and broke up this gang of cut-throats and murderers. He gave the Telluride mine owners to understand that they would never be safe either in person or property, so long as the Federation had a foothold in San Miguel County, and that their only recourse was to hire a Pinkerton operative who would do to the Federation what James McParland had done to the Mollies.

The plausible talk of the Pinkerton drummer or assistant superintendent convinced the members of the Telluride Mine Owners' Association; they instructed him to furnish their association with an operative who would hunt down the murderers of Collins and Barney, and also expose the Inner Circle of the union.

As previously stated, the Agency got the services of a very intelligent quartz miner for this work. This second James McParland was George W. Riddell, or, as he was known at the Agency, No. 36.

No. 36 found it an easy matter to secure work at one of the mines near Telluride, and also found it easy to become a member of the union. He did his level best to accomplish the work he was sent to do at Telluride, but, after working on the case for two years, at an expense of over $7,000 to the Telluride Mine Owners' Association, he retired without bringing to light any evidence of importance or value. So far as the Inner Circle was concerned, No. 36 found no trace of any such secret group, although he was on terms of great intimacy with Vincent St. John and all the other leaders of the union at Telluride.

This was the only operation which the Pinkerton Detective Agency ever undertook for the avowed purpose of discovering the Inner Circle of the Western Federation of Miners, and despite the fact that No. 36 worked for two years under the most favorable conditions, he could not bring to light anything that would tend to incriminate any member of the Western Federation, nor could he substantiate the libelous charge of the Agency that the Federation had any such secret committee as an "Inner Circle" whose business it was to plan murders and other crimes.

CHAPTER XV.

A REIGN OF TERROR.

The mill and smeltermen of the Telluride district struck for an eight-hour day on September 1, 1903, and in a short time the miners also went out, in order to force the mill and smelter operators to accede to the demands of their men, by shutting off the supply of ore. There were several conferences between the operators and committees of the union, but as the operators would concede nothing, all efforts to settle by arbitration were abandoned, and both sides prepared for a long and bitter struggle.

The strike in Telluride is similar, in many of its details, to the memorable events that took place in Cripple Creek. Yet on the whole, the struggle in San Miguel County is replete with stirring incidents and presents a climax which outrivals the dramatic occurrences that convulsed Teller County after the Independence depot explosion.

The State troops were sent to Telluride in November, 1903, though there was absolutely no need for them; and the remorseless campaign conducted by them under the direction of the Mine Owners' Association could perhaps be best described in the language spoken by the Cossacks of the Don, a language in which the word "KNOUT" holds higher rank than does the word "LIBERTY" in the deceptive English spoken by the college-bred mine and smelter magnates of the State of Colorado.

The minute the Cripple Creek veterans arrived in Telluride, they began restoring Law and Order with a gusto and dispatch that spoke eloquently of the practical experience they had gained. Telluride is isolated hundreds of miles from the State capital, and the military here threw off all reserve, and executed with abandon those plans which they had only dared to speak about or threaten in Cripple Creek.

Here, as in Cripple Creek, the desire of the mine owners was to strike terror into the hearts of the striking miners by a display of martial tyranny the like of which had never before been attempted in this country against workingmen.

The military lost no time in inaugurating a reign of persecution, terror and exile.

The union leaders were first arrested and thrown into jail on the meaningful charge of "conspiring to break the law," and were for a long time kept in solitary confinement, without even being accorded the privilege of consulting counsel. Since such treatment is meted out in Colorado to people arrested on the suspicion that they "conspired to break the law," we wonder what punishment should of right be inflicted on those who, like the Colorado State Administration, stand convicted before God and man of having broken for years every law of heaven and earth, of State and land, at the dictate of men of millions?

Soon after the leaders were arrested and jailed on the charge of "conspiring to break the law," many of the rank and file of the Western Federation of Miners were likewise arrested and thrown into jail on the charge of "vagrancy."

These alleged vagrants, all of whom had funds, and were respectable and law-abiding citizens of the community, had a much harder time than their leaders, who were held on an apparently more serious charge. Some of them were fined, while others were given a term in jail. Still others were treated even worse, being compelled under heavy guard, like convicted felons, to clean the streets of Telluride, and do other menial public work; and whenever a miner stopped from his work to rest for a moment, a prick from a bayonet soon reminded him that resting was a serious offence against the laws of Colorado and the Constitution of the United States as understood by Governor Peabody, General Bell, Captain Bulkley Wells, C. C. Hamlin, James McParland, Bishop Matz, Chief Justice Gabbert, and other leading citizens.

This condition of affairs continued in Telluride till the end of the year 1903, without the miners wavering for an instant in their allegiance to what they considered their duty, and without showing the least sign or intention of resuming work, unless the mill and smeltermen in the district were given an eight-hour workday. In view of the iron endurance of the miners, and their apparent indifference to indignity and persecution, the mine owners decided that their only recourse was to drive the Federation from San Miguel County. They sent instructions to the State House at Denver, and the desired result followed quickly.

On January 3rd, 1904, the governor issued a proclamation wherein he declared in so many words that the membership of the Western Federation of Miners in San Miguel County was up in arms against the constituted authorities, and he placed the county under martial law. Immediately the governor's proclamation was formally read in Telluride, the newspapers, telephone and telegraph were placed under military censorship; and so far as the crusade against the miners was concerned, Telluride was cut off from the rest of the world.

For a little over eight weeks, the people of Colorado wondered what was going on at Telluride.

The only way news was obtained from the town during this interval was through the United States Mails, and the little news which filtered through in this manner was far from encouraging. However, when the ban of martial law was finally removed from Telluride, March 11th, 1904, it was found that law and order had been indeed restored in the district. The jails were all empty, the streets were very quiet, and the soldiers were preparing to leave for their homes. The leaders of the union who had "conspired to break the law," the vagrants, the impressed street cleaners, and many other union men, close on to a total of one hundred, had all been forcibly torn from their homes and their families, and driven from San Miguel County at the point of the bayonet.

In considering the wholesale deportations of the Cripple Creek miners by the militia in June, 1904, after the Independence depot explosion, some people might have argued that the expulsion was due to the over-wrought condition of the public mind. But the deportation of the Telluride miners occurred five months before the explosion of the Independence depot, and at a time when the public mind was not wrought up over anything except the flagrant violations of the law by the military. What excuse can be offered for the Telluride deportations? None! A deliberate conspiracy of mine owners to exile unionists is as clear in one case as in the other.

Directly it became known that the militia had left Telluride, the deported miners quietly returned to their homes, so that on the very next day the strike was in exactly the same condition as before martial law had been proclaimed.

The return of the exiles angered and alarmed the mine owners beyond expression. In the first place the magnates resented the impudence of the miners in returning to their homes after having been deported by the militia, and told, in the name of His Excellency the Governor, never to return; surely this was high treason against the State. In the second place, the union miners would undoubtedly re-establish their picket lines and try to persuade the non-union men to quit work and join the Federation; surely this was high treason against the pocketbooks of the mine owners. Horrible! If double treason of this kind does not constitute an insurrection against the constitution (of Russia?) and the established order of things, what does?

The mine owners decided that they would be serving their God and their State but poorly if they permitted such treason to go unchallenged.

Accordingly, on the night of March 14th, just seventy-two hours after the suspension of martial law, the Citizens' Alliance of Telluride, 100 strong, met in secret session, and discussed means to handle the situation. The conclusion arrived at was to re-deport the union miners, as the only possible vindication of the Colorado law. The meeting adjourned, and the members armed themselves to the teeth. It was close on midnight before everything was ready, but the lateness of the hour did not cool the enthusiasm of these champions of American institutions.

Everything was done systematically and with expedition. The Citizens' Alliance force was divided into a number of squads, and these detachments tore the union miners from their beds and hustled them off to a place previously agreed upon. About eighty men were soon rounded up and kept under heavy guard until the next morning. Then they were all packed into an outgoing train, and warned never to return on peril of their lives.

Among the men deported was A. H. Floaten, one of the wealthiest and most prominent business men of Telluride. Mr. Floaten was not a miner, nor was he a member of the Federation. His only crime consisted in the fact that he was an active Socialist.

Since the Citizens' Alliance were not militiamen, nor acting under the orders of the governor, they most decidedly constituted what is commonly styled a mob; and, as they were all armed, they certainly constituted an armed mob. This armed mob which so boldly defied the law of State and land was personally led by Bulkeley Wells, general manager of the

Smuggler Union Mine and captain of the State militia, and by John Herron, manager of the Tomboy Mine.

To guard against a second return of the exiles, armed squads of the Citizens' Alliance patrolled the streets of Telluride day and night, and met every incoming train in order to prevent union men from coming into the town.

The action of the armed mob in Telluride created the greatest excitement throughout the State of Colorado, and all the newspapers devoted a great amount of space to the deportations.

The deported citizens of Telluride chose a committee of three men to proceed to Denver, and personally petition the governor for protection. This committee consisted of A. H. Floaten, Stewart Forbes, president of the Telluride union, and Antone Matti. This committee, on their arrival in Denver, immediately went to the State House and asked for an audience with the governor. The governor's private secretary told them His Excellency was not in. The committee called again the next day, and met with the same lack of success. They then requested John H. Murphy, attorney for the Western Federation of Miners, to call the governor up by 'phone. Mr. Murphy did so, but he met with no better success than had befallen the committee. After trying in vain for three days to obtain an interview with the governor, the committee returned to those who had sent them—chagrined, empty-handed.

As soon as the committee left Denver, the governor was again very much in evidence, and the greenest reporter of any newspaper could see and talk to His Excellency for the mere asking. The Denver newspaper men asked the governor what he intended to do at Telluride, and why he had refused an audience to the committee of the deported miners.

Governor Peabody innocently protested that he had no idea of anything out of the way having transpired at Telluride that required his attention; that no committee of any kind had called on him, and that he really did not know anything whatever about the whole Telluride transaction.

The governor was next asked what his attitude would be in case the deported miners attempted to return to Telluride under cover of an injunction against the Citizens' Alliance; and the governor, without hesitation, made this reply:

> "The miners of Telluride have a right to go to the courts and seek an injunction. The men forced out of Idaho Springs went back under cover of an injunction, and if an injunction is issued to the Telluride strikers, they can undoubtedly go back under it.
>
> "There is one thing, however, upon which I shall insist most firmly as long as I am governor of this State. That is, that armed men will not be allowed to parade in this State, unless authorized by the proper authorities. The constitution and laws do not permit the mobilizing and marching of armed bodies of men without the sanction of the governor, and I certainly shall exercise all the authority I possess against such procedure. The laws will be maintained in Colorado. [Is all this a warning to the Citizens' Alliance? Not exactly.] *The members of the Western Federation of Miners* will have to understand that they will not be permitted to arm themselves, mobilize and march on Telluride or any other place in this State."

The deported miners took the governor at his word and laid their case before Judge Stevens of the Seventh Judicial District of Colorado; and this fearless, upright judge, after going into the merits of the case, issued a sweeping injunction on March 22d, 1904, against the Citizens' Alliance and all others in Telluride from in any way molesting or interfering with the exiles on their return to Telluride.

The deported men were jubilant over the decision. They expected to return to their homes the next day. It seemed certain they would be able to return.

What is a court order among capitalists?

Governor Peabody suddenly woke up to the alarming fact that there was an awful state of affairs in Telluride, and on March 23d, the very day after Judge Stevens had rendered justice to the miners, the governor, in order to defeat the ends of justice and keep the union miners in exile, placed San Miguel County again under martial law, and appointed Bulkley Wells, the leader of the Alliance mob, as commander of the military forces in the county.

CHAPTER XVI.

A REIGN OF TERROR—CONTINUED. MILITARY NECESSITY.

For charity's sake we will say that perhaps the governor of Colorado considered it his duty to proclaim martial law in San Miguel County when he did, as the county was at that time in the possession of an armed mob which resisted the laws of the State, and by deeds of violence denied the citizens of that county those rights and privileges that are guaranteed to all American citizens.

Since insurrection and rebellion had broken out and threatened life, liberty and property in San Miguel County, the State government was fully warranted in interfering, with armed force if necessary, in order to quell the insurrection and restore peace.

But the way Governor Peabody interfered in San Miguel County reminds us of the story of a poor foreigner who had just landed in New York. This foreigner, while walking along the streets, happened to run across a gang of loafers who sized him up as a greenhorn, and proceeded to rough-house him. After the fun had lasted about five minutes, a burly policeman rushed up and roughly hustled him off to the station house where the poor, half-dead foreigner was put in a dark cell. The next morning the foreigner was dragged before an unthinking and heartless judge, and charged with causing a serious disturbance on the streets. The judge fined the prisoner ten dollars, and, in lieu of the cash, he was sent to jail for ten days.

Petty persecutions of this kind have occurred in some of our Eastern cities. So far as Colorado is concerned, substitute the word miner for the word "foreigner"; the phrase Pinkertons and mine owners for the phrase "gang of loafers"; the words "Governor

Peabody" for the words "burly policeman"; and the phrase "Colorado Supreme Court" for the phrase "unthinking and heartless judge," and you have before you in a nutshell a mildly-worded history of the labor troubles in Colorado for the last four years.

Governor Peabody knew well that the mob at Telluride was composed of members of the Mine Owners' Association and members of the Citizens' Alliance. He knew as well as everyone else in the State that Manager Bulkley Wells of the Smuggler Union Mine was the life and soul of this mob, which he personally commanded. Yet Governor Peabody, with the brazen style of the policeman in the anecdote, charged the poor, deported miners with the crime of treason, and in order to prevent these outraged men from returning to their wives and children declared martial law, sent troops down to Telluride at an immense expense to the State, and named *Bulkley Wells, the avowed leader of the insurrectionary mob, as the commander of the State militia in this district.*

The military had absolutely nothing to do in Telluride, except to watch incoming trains for the purpose of preventing union miners from entering the city. As this kind of work was tedious, the military soon tired of it, and began to look for trouble.

They quickly found what they were looking for in the person of Charles H. Moyer, president of the Western Federation of Miners.

The military discovered that Mr. Moyer was in Ouray, the county seat of Ouray County, where he was going over the situation with the officers of the Ouray Miners' Union, and also with the deported Telluride miners, who had all congregated in this little city.

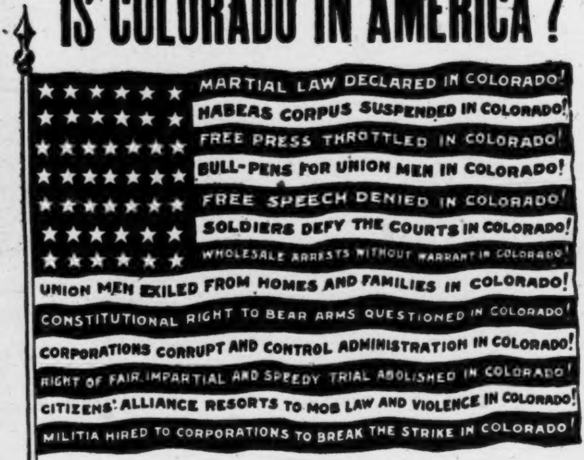
Now the governor had officially proclaimed that the members of the Western Federation of Miners in San Miguel County had risen in armed rebellion against the State. By virtue of this proclamation, the Federation was practically declared to be an outlaw organization, and its leaders consequently became outlaw chiefs. The militia (or should we say the mine owners?) therefore decided that the insurrection could never be suppressed so long as President Moyer was at liberty, and they concluded to arrest him. The only difficulty lay in the fact that Moyer was in Ouray County, and that county, not being under martial law, could not well be invaded by the military. But little difficulties of this kind could not thwart the desires of the mine owners and militia.

Sheriff Rutan, of San Miguel County, was a willing tool of the Telluride Mine Owners' Association. Papers were sworn out in Telluride charging President Moyer with the crime of "desecrating the American flag," and armed with these papers Sheriff Rutan proceeded to Ouray, where he caused the sheriff of the county to arrest Mr. Moyer on the charge mentioned and lock him up in the county jail. The next day Sheriff Rutan and his prisoner departed for Telluride. Here Mr. Moyer was again locked up in jail pending a hearing.

It is a significant fact that, although President Moyer was arrested in Ouray, amid hundreds of ardent admirers and followers, not a move was made by a single member of the Western Federation of Miners to free their chief by force. The miners felt that the arrest of their president was for some hidden purpose, yet they allowed the law to take its course, ignoring the precedents established by the mine owners and the governor.

The mine owners charged Mr. Moyer with having desecrated the American flag by inscribing sentences in each of the thirteen stripes which were far from complimentary to the State administration, militia and magnates. They also charged that he caused pictures of the flag containing these inscriptions to be scattered broadcast throughout the State.

IS COLORADO IN AMERICA?


MARTIAL LAW DECLARED IN COLORADO!
HABEAS CORPUS SUSPENDED IN COLORADO!
FREE PRESS THROTTLED IN COLORADO!
BULL-PENS FOR UNION MEN IN COLORADO!
FREE SPEECH DENIED IN COLORADO!
SOLDIERS DEFY THE COURTS IN COLORADO!
WHOLESALE ARRESTS WITHOUT WARRANT IN COLORADO!
UNION MEN EXILED FROM HOMES AND FAMILIES IN COLORADO!
CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT TO BEAR ARMS QUESTIONED IN COLORADO!
CORPORATIONS CORRUPT AND CONTROL ADMINISTRATION IN COLORADO!
RIGHT OF FAIR, IMPARTIAL AND SPEEDY TRIAL ABOLISHED IN COLORADO!
CITIZENS' ALLIANCE RESORTS TO MOB LAW AND VIOLENCE IN COLORADO!
MILITIA HIRED TO CORPORATIONS TO BREAK THE STRIKE IN COLORADO!

THESE are absolute facts and are not the only outrages that have been perpetrated in Colorado in the name of law and order. It has been charged and never successfully denied that the corporations contributed $15,000.00 towards the election of the present Republican administration, but Governor Peabody has been unable to "DELIVER THE GOODS."

THE unions have not been nor can they be abolished, and before the strikes in Colorado are settled, we will have demonstrated the right to organize for mutual benefit. The eight-hour day as decreed by over forty thousand majority of the voters will be established.

IF you desire to assist the striking Miners, Mill and Smeltermen of the Western Federation of Miners of Colorado in this battle for industrial and political freedom, send donations to Wm. D. Haywood, Sec'y-Treas., 625 Mining Exchange, Denver, Colorado.

Charles Moyer
PRESIDENT

Wm. D. Haywood
SEC'Y-TREAS.

To a certain extent the charge was well founded, as the Western Federation of Miners had scattered many pictures of the American flag containing the following suggestive statements in the stripes:

(1) Is Colorado in America?
(2) Martial Law declared in Colorado.
(3) Habeas Corpus suppressed in Colorado.
(4) Free Press throttled in Colorado.
(5) Bullpens for union men in Colorado.
(6) Soldiers defy the courts in Colorado.
(7) Free Speech denied in Colorado.
(8) Wholesale arrests without warrant in Colorado.
(9) Union men exiled from homes and families in Colorado.
(10) Constitutional right to bear arms questioned in Colorado.
(11) Corporations corrupt and control administrations in Colorado.
(12) Right of fair, impartial and speedy trial abolished in Colorado.
(13) Citizens' Alliance resorts to mob law and violence in Colorado. Militia hired by corporations to break the strike in Colorado.

There is no doubt on earth but that each and everyone of these thirteen charges is true, and based on facts. The only reason these charges were printed on the stripes of the flag was, because serious accusations of this kind, inscribed on the emblem of liberty, were bound to attract the attention of the public to the unheard-of outrages.

In case of conviction, the maximum punishment for an offense of this kind—defacing the flag—is a fine not exceeding $250, or imprisonment in the county jail for not more than one year, or both.

If the Mine Owners' Association had so much love and reverence for our flag as they professed, it would seem that they should have been anxious to try Mr. Moyer, and, if possible, secure a conviction against him. This was not at all their program.

Mr. Moyer furnished bond, and was released by the civil authorities on March 30th, 1904. However, the instant after he had obtained his liberty in this manner, he was seized by the militia and thrown into the bull pen, where he was kept for many weeks under heavy guard in solitary confinement. The only reason the military would give for the arrest and imprisonment of President Moyer was, "Military Necessity!"

Our flag, which every American citizen would gladly protect, with his fortune and his life, was desecrated and dishonored by the governor of Colorado, his soldiers and the mine owners, by being made to serve as a base decoy for unlawfully depriving an innocent man of his liberty.

CHAPTER XVII.

A REIGN OF TERROR—CONCLUDED. THE MOYER DECISION.

It is perhaps somewhat unusual for one not a lawyer by profession to attempt to expound a great question of law, in a manner which is flatly in contradiction of a supreme court decision. Yet, our laws are written in plain English, so that anyone with even a common school education can read and understand them. The government of the United States recognizes the principle that the safety of a free government, to a large extent, depends on the knowledge of the fundamental laws of the land by all its citizens.

Let us analyze the famous as well as infamous Moyer decision, which is a vindication of Governor Peabody's maladministration, and a fitting climax to the persecutions of the workingmen of Colorado.

The militia arrested President Moyer on March 30th, 1904, and kept him imprisoned in the bull pen day after day, without in any way moving to prefer charges against him. From previous experience it was evident to the Western Federation of Miners that the military intended to hold Mr. Moyer a prisoner for an indefinite period. The officers of the Federation, with their usual promptitude, obtained a writ of habeas corpus from Judge Stevens, directing General Bell and Capt. Bulkley Wells to bring Mr. Moyer into court on April 11th. These persons flatly refused to obey the writ, on the plea that military officers in field service are not subject to any civil process.

Judge Stevens held a different view on this question, for he adjudged both General Bell and Capt. Wells guilty of contempt, fined each of them $500, and ordered the release of Mr. Moyer. The military commanders neither paid the fine, nor did they liberate their prisoner. On the contrary, there was a persistent rumor that General Bell would arrest Judge Stevens.

When it became clear to the attorneys for the Federation that the military would not obey the District Court, they applied to the Supreme Court for relief, and that tribunal, on April 15th, issued a writ of habeas corpus, ordering the military commaders at Telluride to produce the body of Charles H. Moyer before it on April 21st, 1904.

The reader remembers the case of Victor Poole. The governor had, by formal executive proclamation, attempted to suspend the writ of habeas corpus in the case of Victor Poole. The Supreme Court, despite the governor's proclamation, issued a writ of habeas corpus for the prisoner. Governor Peabody practically admitted that he had acted unlawfully by turning Poole over to the civil authorities, in order to evade an issue which he knew would result unfavorably to him.

The Victor Poole case taught His Excellency a valuable lesson, and that he profited by it is evidenced by the Moyer case.

The militia, which had had no scruple in disobeying the orders of District Judge Stevens, treated the Supreme Court with more consideration, and, while challenging the jurisdiction of that court in the Moyer case, they nevertheless brought Mr. Moyer before the court on the return day of the writ.

It now seemed that the headlong course of the governor and his soldiers would be checked. It was hard to assume any other outcome to this case than a victory for decency, law and order. It was impossible to conceive that the court of last resort of a great State had, like the executive and legislative departments, forsworn itself in obedience to the will of large moneyed interests.

Yet the unexpected happened. The Supreme

Court, after hearing the arguments, took the case under advisement, and, pending decision, remanded Mr. Moyer to the custody of his military captors, who placed him again in the bull pen at Telluride. On June 6th, 1904, the court announced its decision, denying Mr. Moyer's petition for a writ of habeas corpus. Justice Robert W. Steele dissented.

This decision is very interesting, instructive, and would also be rather amusing, to quote Bishop Matz, "had it been rendered in the course of a spirited romance for the sake of forcibly pointing a moral"; but when a decision like this is rendered by a real court, to be binding upon real people, then, to again quote Bishop Matz, "it is high time for the people to wake up and protect themselves."

Chief Justice William H. Gabbert wrote the opinion for the court. This opinion harps on the fact that the Constitution of the State gives the governor power to suppress insurrection and rebellion by means of the National Guard, and that the governor is sole judge of conditions constituting an insurrection and rebellion.

The learned Chief Justice, with the magnificent ingenuity of a mediæval logician, argues that if the military have the right to shoot and kill in order to suppress rebellion, how much greater is their privilege merely to seize and confine human beings in bull pens. 'Tis a kindness—"milder means"—if the soldiery pen up rather than slay.

> "The power and authority of the militia in such circumstances are not unlike that of the police of a city, or the sheriff of a county. . . . . . Certainly such officials would be justified in arresting the rioters and placing them in jail without warrant, and detaining them there until the riot was suppressed.
>
> "Nor do these views conflict with Section 22, Article 2, of the Bill of Rights, which provides that the military shall always be in strict subordination to the civil power. The Governor, in employing the militia to suppress an insurrection, is merely acting in his capacity as the chief civil magistrate of the State. . . . . ."

In a supplementary article replying to a dissenting opinion, Chief Justice Gabbert has this to say:

> "The Constitution has clothed the Governor with the power to take the steps he did, and he cannot be called to account by the judicial department for his action, nor can the latter inquire into or determine whether or not the condition existed upon which he based his action. . . . . ."

A recent decision by the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands is direct authority for supporting this conclusion. Section 5 of the act of Congress known as the "Philippine Bill" provides that the privileges of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended unless when, in cases of rebellion, insurrection or invasion, the public safety may require it, in either of which events the same may be suspended by the President or by the Governor-General, with the approval of the Philippine Commission whenever, during such period, the necessity for such suspension shall exist.

Judge Gabbert then recites the following facts: That by virtue of this act of Congress, the authorities had suspended the writ of habeas corpus in the Province of Batangas, because of the existence of serious political conditions in that district. The military arrested one Feliz Barcelon, who attempted to gain his liberty by means of an application for a writ of habeas corpus. The writ was denied, because its privileges had been lawfully suspended.

Basing his opinion on the decision of the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands, Justice Gabbert jumps to the following conclusion:

> "While the question is not involved or touched upon in the Philippine case, it logically follows from the conclusion there announced, that with the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus suspended, the legality of the arrest and imprisonment of one taken into custody by the lawfully constituted authorities cannot be inquired into. It must also follow that, when the Governor has exercised the power vested in him to call out the military to suppress

> an insurrection, the arrest and detention by the military of one taken into custody as an insurrectionist by the particular force which the Governor is authorized to employ to suppress an insurrection cannot be inquired into by the courts."

We have hinted an apology for the liberty of assailing a Supreme Court decision. This apology was offered, let it be understood, not to the Supreme Court of Colorado, but rather to one of the justices of that court, an eminent jurist, a conscientious and fearless man. We refer to Justice Robert W. Steele.

Judge Steele's dissenting opinion is such an able, brilliant and truthful interpretation of the law, and so invaluable a historic document, that if space permitted, we would gladly quote it in full.

Judge Steele commences his opinion with the following remarks:

> "No person who has the slightest claim to respectability should hesitate to approve the action of the Governor in enforcing the law, and I am willing to uphold him and to applaud him so long as he keeps within the lines of the Constitution. But I am not willing to uphold him when, in my opinion, he breaks down the barriers erected by the people for their protection, nor am I willing to accord to the Constitution elastic properties for the purpose of sustaining him, nor to join in the establishment of a precedent which will not apply to other classes or other conditions, when another Governor undertakes to exercise the same arbitrary power. I am not willing to concede the power claimed by the Governor and exercised by him, because, in my opinion, such power is not vested in him by the Constitution. The people could never have intended to erect such an engine of oppression. It follows, of course, that if the present executive is the sole judge of the conditions which can call into action the military power of the government, and can exercise all means necessary to effectually abate the conditions, and the judicial department cannot inquire into the legality of his acts, that the next Governor may by his edict exercise the same arbitrary power. *If the military authority may deport the miners this year, it can deport the farmers next year. If a strike which is not a rebellion must be so regarded because the Governor says it is, any condition must be regarded as a rebellion which the Governor declares to be such; and if any condition must be regarded as a re-*

bellion because the Governor says so, then any county in the State may be declared to be in a state of rebellion, whether a rebellion exists or not, and every citizen subjected to arbitrary arrest and detention at the will and pleasure of the head of the executive department."

Judge Steele then quotes the following from an opinion of Judge Davis of the United States Supreme Court:

> "The Constitution of the United States is a law for rulers and people, equally in war and in peace, and covers with the shield of its protection all classes of men, at all times, and under all circumstances. No doctrine, involving more pernicious consequences, was ever invented by the wit of man than that any of its provisions can be suspended during any of the great exigencies of government. Such a doctrine leads directly to anarchy or despotism. . . . . . Wicked men, ambitious of power, with hatred of liberty and contempt of law, may fill the places once occupied by Washington and Lincoln; and if this right (the right of the executive and his military subordinates in time of foreign or domestic war to substitute martial law for the civil law) be conceded, and the calamities of war again befall us, the dangers to human liberty are frightful to contemplate."

Replying to the mediæval logic of Justice Gabbert that if the military may slay, much more they are permitted to imprison, Judge Steele says:

> "The power to take the life of an insurgent does not include the power to take the life of a person not an insurgent. And if that be true, then by the process of reasoning that the Court adopts, if the military authority may not take the life of one not an insurgent, they may not imprison a person who is not an insurgent. The question is: May the military authorities, when a county is declared to be in a state of insurrection, arrest any person, whether guilty or innocent, and detain him until the executive declares that order has been restored? The question can be answered in the affirmative in no other way than by declaring that the executive has the power to suspend the privilege of habeas corpus, or by declaring that martial law prevails whenever the executive so proclaims.
>
> "Martial law exists or it does not exist. When it exists, there is no civil law. Martial law and civil law cannot exist together. If the civil law can enforce one guarantee,

it can enforce all. If the civil law is overthrown, it is powerless to enforce any right. . . . . .

"The Court has not construed the Constitution. It has ignored it; and the result is that it has made greater inroads on the Constitution than it intended, and that not one of the guarantees of personal liberty can now be enforced.

"The Court would have sustained the Governor, under the authorities, if it were possible to do so, but, finding it impossible to sustain him under the authorities, it has sustained him in spite of them. All courts are in duty bound to sustain the co-ordinate departments of the Government, when they can be sustained, and I should sustain the executive department if any doubt lingered in my mind as to the right of the head of that department to exercise the great power that he asserts. But I believe that the Constitution has been "unnecessarily assailed and rudely violated" by the head of the executive department, and I further believe that this Court has removed the landmarks which our fathers have set; and my duty requires me to withhold my approval.

"Habeas corpus is the proper remedy to release from arbitrary arrest, and, unless its privileges have been suspended, one is not subject to arrest on suspicion merely, and detention beyond the time fixed by statute for return to the writ. *As the privilege of the writ has not been suspended, as the courts are open, as martial law does not prevail, and as no charge has been preferred against the petitioner, he should be discharged.* The greatness of this country consists in being able to protect, by the shield of its Constitution, the humble and the exalted, the pure and the wicked. We gave the wretches Guiteau, Prendergast and Czolgosz trials by due forms of law, and by so doing we strengthened the nation at home and abroad. Had we departed from the principles declared by our fathers, we should have lessened the liberty of every citizen, and imperilled the title to all property. When we deny to one, however wicked, a right plainly guaranteed by the Constitution, we take that same right from everyone. *When we say to Moyer, 'You must stay in prison, because if we discharge you, you may commit a crime,' we say that to every other citizen.* When we say to one Governor, 'You have unlimited and arbitrary power,' we clothe future Governors with that same power. We cannot change the Constitution to meet conditions. We cannot deny liberty to-day, and grant it to-morrow. We cannot grant it to those theretofore above suspicion, and deny it to those suspected of crime; for the Constitution is for all men—'for the favorite at court; for the countryman at the plow'—at all times, and under all

> circumstances. *We cannot sow the dragon's teeth, and harvest peace and repose. We cannot sow the wind, and gather the restful calm.*
>
> "Our fathers came here as exiles from a tyrant king. Their birthright of liberty was denied them. . . . . . Arbitrary arrests were made, and judges, aspiring to the smile of the prince, refused by 'pitiful evasion' the writ of habeas corpus. Our people were banished; they were denied trial by jury; they were deported for trial for pretended offenses; and they finally resolved to suffer wrong no more. . . . . But, if the law is as this Court has declared, then our vaunted priceless heritage is a sham, and our fathers stood 'between their loved homes and the war's desolation in vain.'"

Thus dissented Judge Steele.

Let us make a brief analysis of the court's decision, as our doing so may possibly shed more light on the question in controversy. Judge Gabbert bases his opinion, he tells us, on the fundamental laws of the State of Colorado, which say that

> "The supreme executive power of the State shall be vested in the Governor, who shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed."

and that to this end

> "He is made commander-in-chief of the military forces of the State, and vested with authority to call out the militia to execute the laws, and suppress insurrection."

This authority is supplemented by an additional law, whereby it is provided that when an insurrection in the State exists or is threatened, the governor shall order out the National Guard to suppress it.

Judge Gabbert says these are wise provisions, and we agree with him. But, in good plain, every day English, here is the way Judge Gabbert interprets them:

> It is the duty of the Governor to suppress insurrection by calling out the National Guard. This duty implies that the Governor is the sole judge of conditions which constitute insurrection. That the Governor's proclamation declaring an insurrection to exist is law, binding on all other departments of the government. That the military, under his command, may go to any extreme they see fit,

killing and imprisoning citizens at pleasure, regardless of their guilt or innocence; and that neither the soldiery nor the Governor are responsible for their actions to anyone; not even Almighty God, according to General Bell, having authority to interfere; no earthly tribunal can halt them, nor demand an explanation from them, nor punish them. The practice of this despotism withal does not deprive any citizen of any constitutional rights or immunities.

In a nutshell, this is the gist of the Colorado Supreme Court's gross and wilful misconstruction of the law, the decision of those learned judges, who sold the liberty of the people for a mess of pottage, or possibly a pot of something else.

By the Constitution "The supreme executive power of the State is vested in the Governor, who is required to take care that the laws be faithfully executed." To this end he is made "commander-in-chief of the military forces of the State, and vested with authority to call out the militia to execute the laws, and suppress insurrection."

The reader will note that the law, as above quoted, is very definite. It says in plain English that the governor is required to take care that the laws be faithfully executed. This is the only reason why he is clothed with supreme executive power. No other logical reason could be adduced. However, the patriots who drew up the Constitution realized that occasions might arise when armed rebellion might prevent the due execution of the law, or else threaten to overwhelm the State. To the end that such a calamity might not befall, the governor has been vested with the power to call out the militia to suppress insurrection or repel invasion, in order that the laws may be executed.

Judge Gabbert keeps on bewailing with crocodile's tears that it is the sacred duty of the governor to suppress insurrection and rebellion, and endeavors to prove that the only reason we have a governor or need a governor in Colorado is that he may keep on proclaiming and suppressing imaginary insurrections.

The decision of the Colorado Supreme Court practically means that the governor of the State is identical with the State, according to the celebrated statement of King Louis XIV. of France, who arrogantly used to say of himself, "The State? I am the State!" This being so, the governor and the State being one and the same thing, his actions in proclaiming and suppressing insurrections may not be inquired into by any earthly tribunal. He is supreme.

However, regardless of the decision of the Supreme Court, we know that the governor is only the chief executive officer of the State; in other words, he is only the chief executive servant of the Commonwealth, and in that capacity he owes the same allegiance to the law as does the humblest citizen. In fact, he should show even a greater respect for the law than the average citizen, so as to set a good example for the latter. Therefore, if the governor, forgetful of his solemn oath of office, and the sacredness of the trust reposed in him by his fellow citizens, attempts with the aid of the National Guard to prevent citizens from resorting to courts of law, or to bring courts of law into contempt by causing their decisions to be ridiculed, disobeyed and ignored, he and all those acting under him are as guilty of insurrection and rebellion against the State, and even more so, than ordinary persons doing the same things.

This is exactly what Governor Peabody did.

He declared the strike of the miners and smeltermen to be a rebellion against the State!

He farmed out the State militia to the mine owners and smelter trust!

He caused the militia to hound and persecute mercilessly the striking miners in order to force them to give up their struggle; meanwhile telling the outside world that he was suppressing a rebellion!

He caused his soldiers to invade the District Court of Teller County, in an effort to intimidate that court into denying justice to innocent men; while posing before the world as a champion and protector of the courts!

He attempted to suspend the writ of habeas corpus, though there was not even the shadow of danger threatening the public safety; vide the case of Victor Poole!

He denied citizens the right to keep arms, prohibited freedom of speech, and placed a censor over the press, in the name of Law and Order!

He declared martial law in San Miguel County for no other purpose than to give sanction to mob law, and to prevent an honorable District Court from rendering justice to one hundred men deported from their homes in Telluride by a mob of mine magnates and sypmathizers! The governor sealed his infamy in this case by appointing Manager Bulkley Wells, the leader of the mob, as commander of the military forces!

George the Third affected to render the military independent of and superior to the civil power.

Governor Peabody went a step further, and affected to destroy the civil power altogether.

King George deported our fathers beyond seas for trial for pretended offenses.

Governor Peabody deported striking miners from Colorado for no offenses whatever, and would not even allow generous friends to give food to the wives and children of the deported men.

King George attempted to protect his soldiers by mock trial from punishment for any murders they should commit.

Governor Peabody attempted to protect himself and his military subordinates from damage suits; and also attempted to legalize his persecution of thousands of workingmen, his cowardly crusade against women and children, and his ruthless treatment of our civil courts, by proclamations falsely declaring several counties of Colorado to be in a state of rebellion.

Our fathers would not tolerate the tyrannical sway of a crowned head. The Supreme Court of Colorado declares a worse tyranny, an even more hateful despotism, and a much more pernicious and dangerous assault on human liberty, to be in conformity with the Constitution of the United States and the State of Colorado, and advises the people to accept THIS DECISION in place of the liberty our fathers established for us!

The Moyer decision is a striking sign of the change of the times, and illustrates how the nation has drifted from the teachings of our fathers.

During the Revolutionary War, there were men in our country who held that the King of England was justified in his acts against the thirteen colonies. Those men were called Tories, and were cordially hated by the patriots.

Nowadays, the rôles are inverted. Newspapers which champion the cause of liberty and the interests of the people are called "yellow journals" by our statesmen and wealthy citizens, and those who wish to follow in the footsteps of our liberty-loving sires are denounced as "anarchists," and persecuted. The Tory of the Revolution to-day controls the destiny of America.

At the present time, in the whole civilized world, only three great countries are governed by absolute monarchs, namely, Russia, Turkey and China. In each of these countries the ruler can, at his pleasure, imprison, deport or kill as many of his subjects as he may desire. The rulers of these countries owe the Supreme Court of the State of Colorado, and the Federal Circuit Court for the District of Colorado, a heartfelt vote of thanks; for they can now refer their disaffected and liberty-loving subjects to the decisions of these courts as an illustration that under a republic a common, ordinary person has no more protection than under a despotism. Let the autocrats of Russia, Turkey and China henceforth, before arbitrarily imprisoning, deporting or killing, proclaim an insurrection in their respective lands! If an ordinary proclamation of this kind permits a mere governor to commit such outrages on citizens of the United States, then surely a royal proclamation ought to confer at least a similar privilege upon an emperor or a sultan!

In 1862, Abraham Lincoln issued his world-famous proclamation, declaring that slavery should no longer exist in the United States. In our day, any person who desires to better the industrial and social condition of workingmen—white slaves—is denounced by our conservative press as an "agitator," as an "anarchist," and is imprisoned for months in a filthy bull pen, on the charge that he is a rebel against the State!

Before the great corporations and trusts had corrupted the land, it was common belief that the National Constitution was an irrevocable guarantee of the right of each citizen of this country to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, in any State he chose as a residence. In our day we are told, in so many words, by a State Supreme Court and a Federal Circuit Court, that neither the Constitution nor the Flag follow a citizen of the United States into Colorado, and that if he wishes to reside in this State he must know that he holds his rights to life, liberty and happiness at the sole discretion of the governor and his military underlings, and that the latter may cancel these privileges at any moment.

This, in all its repulsive deformity and ghastly nakedness, is the infamous Moyer decision, as we understand it, and as we believe every intelligent and patriotic American citizen understands it.

CHAPTER XVIII.

JAMES M'PARLAND TELLS THE TRUTH, CONFIDENTIALLY, TO GENERAL MANAGER BANGS—PRESIDENT CHARLES H. MOYER IS RELEASED.

The labor troubles which kept Colorado in a turmoil for over two years, and the high-handed operations of Governor Peabody in overthrowing law and order, aroused considerable interest the country over, and a number of articles were written on these subjects by different people.

Among others, one I. Edwin Goldwasser, of New York City, was seized with a desire to write up an account of the troubles, and as he had once had the pleasure of meeting and talking with Principal Robert A. Pinkerton in Denver, he concluded that Mr. Pinkerton resided in that city, and addressed a letter to him, accordingly, on Jan. 4th, 1905.

In this letter Mr. Goldwasser reminded Mr. Pinkerton that about two years ago he had called on him at Denver while en route to San Francisco, bearing a letter of introduction from Mr. Meyers, a theatrical manager, and that during this visit Mr. Pinkerton had explained to him some of the workings of the Agency, and extended a promise of assistance, in case he required help.

Mr. Goldwasser then stated that he was very anxious to know the actual conditions that prevailed in the Cripple Creek District at the time of the wholesale deportations by the militia, and whether or not Governor Peabody was justified in permitting those excesses.

In conclusion Mr. Goldwasser requested that in case the Agency could not supply him with the information desired, Mr. Pinkerton should let him know which of the Denver daily newspapers would be apt to do so.

As a matter of fact Mr. Robert A. Pinkerton resides in New York City, and Mr. Goldwasser's meeting him in Denver was simply due to the fact that Mr. Pinkerton must have happened to be in that city on a brief visit. However, the Denver post office authorities delivered Mr. Goldwasser's letter to the office of the Pinkerton Agency, where it was turned over to Manager James McParland for reply.

Manager McParland wrote Mr. Goldwasser a letter telling him that, as Mr. Robert A. Pinkerton resided in New York, he had referred his letter to the New York office of the Agency for attention; and furthermore, that the Denver office was not in a position to give him the information he required.

And Mr. McParland did, indeed, send Mr. Goldwasser's letter to General Manager Bangs of the Pinkerton Agency. He did more. He wrote Mr. Bangs a letter on the subject of Mr. Goldwasser's inquiries, dated Jan. 10th, 1905, and incidentally gave his honest opinion of Governor Peabody.

In the course of this letter Manager McParland stated that Mr. Goldwasser evidently wanted the information in question for the purpose of writing an article for some magazine or journal; and if the Agency gave him any data, he would undoubtedly point to the Agency as authority for his article. Mr. McParland insisted that it would be very undiplomatic to implicate the Agency in this controversy, and therefore counselled that Mr. Goldwasser's request be refused.

However, the main interest attaching to Mr. McParland's letter is where he tells General Manager Bangs that the maneuvers of the Peabody administration were fully approved by a great number of prominent citizens of Colorado, including himself and all the officials of the Agency in Denver, despite the fact that there was scarcely one among them (the citizens and Pinkertons) but knew that many of the acts of

Governor Peabody were in violation of the Constitution of the United States and Colorado.

Governor Peabody, Judge Gabbert, Bishop Matz, C. C. Hamlin, General Sherman Bell, Manager Bulkley Wells, and other prominent citizens of Colorado might have felt strongly inclined to denounce our opinion of their doings and decisions as the opinion of an "Anarchist."

But, surely, James McParland of Pinkerton's National Detective Agency, the fountain-head of conservatism, the pitiless destroyer of the Molly Maguires, the faithful servant of the corporations, the arch enemy of the Western Federation of Miners, and the sole hope of the prosecution in the famous Moyer-Haywood-Pettibone conspiracy and murder case in Idaho, cannot in all fairness be likewise denounced as an "Anarchist," and yet his opinion of Governor Peabody's actions is as little complimentary to the latter as is our own.

We do not wish to dwell long on Manager McParland's opinion. We know well enough, without him, that we are right. The only value of Mr. McParland's confession is that it corroborates what we have already said; namely, that the great and the rich are willing to inaugurate and uphold even a despotic form of government, when it subserves their selfish interests, and that they would force the people to believe that such a government is a republic, although in their heart of hearts they know that such a government is a tyranny, and can exist only in gross violation of the Constitution of the State and Nation.

But we must not leave Mr. Moyer in the bull pen; and the reader is certainly curious to know how he finally obtained his liberty.

After the Colorado Supreme Court denied Mr. Moyer's application for a writ of habeas corpus, the attorneys for the Federation of Miners realized that if they depended on Colorado justice, Mr. Moyer would have to spend the rest of his life in the bull pen. They therefore applied to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals at St. Louis, Missouri, for a writ of habeas corpus, and Justice Amos M. Thayer of that court issued the writ, ordering Governor Peabody to produce the body of Charles H. Moyer before him in St. Louis on July 5th, 1904.

When Governor Peabody discovered that the United States Court had assumed jurisdiction, he became so alarmed and confused that he scarcely knew what to do. He had a premonition that if he permitted the Moyer case to be tried by an impartial Federal court, far removed from the disturbed and corrupt atmosphere of Colorado, that his cause would be sure to meet with ignominious defeat.

The governor decided it was high time for him to beat a retreat; and with a haste that almost amounted to trepidation, he wired Capt. Wells that martial law was revoked in San Miguel County, and that President Moyer should be turned over to the civil authorities without delay.

In turning President Moyer over to the civil authorities, Governor Peabody repeated the Victor Poole maneuver. He escaped the ordeal of going before the United States Court. The hasty action of Governor Peabody in revoking martial law the instant he discovered that the victim of his hatred was about to get a fair and impartial hearing is proof conclusive, first; that his proclamation placing San Miguel County under martial law was simply a subterfuge to work the miners injury; and second, that the governor was well aware that his treatment of President Moyer was utterly illegal.

Immediately after Mr. Moyer was placed in the custody of the civil authorities, the military commanders, for form's sake, charged him with the commission of a number of serious crimes. Mr. Moyer furnished bond, was soon at liberty, and no attempt was ever made by the mine owners or military to bring him to trial on any of the charges.

The release of President Moyer from military and civil arrest marks the close of the great struggle between the Western Federation of Miners and the allied State and corporation forces in Colorado.

CHAPTER XIX.

TWO BLACK SHEEP MEET, BUT ONE DOESN'T KNOW THE OTHER.

The mining industry of Colorado is not restricted to the production of silver and gold. The State also produces immense quantities of coal. The coal is Bituminous, and the entire output is practically controlled by three great corporations. The Northern Coal & Coke Company owns the big mines in Northern Colorado, while the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company and Victor Fuel Company virtually control this industry in the Southern part of the State.

At the time of our story, the relations between miners and operators in the Northern coal fields were quite friendly, and the conditions tolerably good. It was otherwise with the conditions which prevailed in the Southern fields, particularly in those camps owned by the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company.

The miners working for this company were compelled to labor twelve hours a shift, for wages which really averaged above two dollars a day. They received their pay once a month in what is known as "SCRIP," or paper good for its face value in exchange for merchandise only at the company's stores. This system practically prevented the miners from ever accumulating any cash, and placed them at the mercy of the company. These conditions were naturally obnoxious to the employees of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company. One cannot blame the miners for hating a system that compelled them to toil twelve hours a day at the dangerous, unhealthy occupation of coal mining, and then to receive their meagre wages, not in United States money, but in merchandise at the company's stores, at prices which often left them in debt to the company.

The officials of the company, better than anyone else, knew that a system of this kind must be heartily detested by the men, and that if a union organizer should appear among the miners, the latter would lend a willing ear to his program. As the establishment of a union would result in shorter hours and the abolition of the scrip system, the company took steps to stifle in embryo any attempts at organizing.

In the first place, the company hired deputy sheriffs, ostensibly for the purpose of patrolling and protecting their property, but in reality to watch every stranger entering the camps, and to order him out of town if found to be a union organizer.

This precaution prevented organization openly among the coal miners. However, a deputy sheriff could not prevent an "agitator" from getting work in some mine, then secretly talking to and organizing the men into a union. The company thought of this possibility, and applied the only remedy; namely, the placing of Pinkerton operatives in some of their camps as practical coal miners, in which capacity they were in an excellent position to discover the presence of a secret organizer, and to report the names of all disaffected.

The company had one operative in Fremont County, and another in Las Animas County. The former was J. Frank Strong, No. 28, and the latter Robert M. Smith, No. 38. Both operatives did the same work, yet neither was acquainted with the other.

No. 28, in addition to his regular work among the miners, kept special watch on John L. Gehr, a member of the National Executive Board of the United Mine Workers of America; while No. 38 maintained intimate relations with William Howells, President, and John Simpson, Secretary, of District No. 15, comprising the Colorado division of the United Mine Workers. Thus, through the medium of operatives Strong and Smith, the coal miners' union could not make a single move that would not be promptly reported to the company.

It once happened that National Executive Board Member Gehr made a trip to Las Animas County in order to strengthen the union in that section. Operative Strong was very anxious to thwart Mr. Gehr's plans, so he accompanied him to Trinidad, on the plea that he wanted to help in the good work.

When Operative Smith heard that Gehr was coming to Trinidad to direct an organizing campaign, he at once left Aguilar, where he was working in the mines, and hurried post haste to Trinidad in order to meet Gehr whom he knew well, and on some plausible excuse he hoped to wheedle out of the latter what his plans were.

When Operative Smith met Mr. Gehr at Trinidad, the latter was very glad to see him, and introduced Operative Strong to him as his best friend. The two spies, who had never met before, addressed each other as Brother and cordially shook hands, neither suspecting the identity of the other. Their emotions might have been ungovernable had they realized the fraternal bond of scoundrelism that conected them. The reader can imagine how successful a campaign of organization could be, when Pinkerton operatives had the running of it. The incident, from the workers' point of view, is tragic rather than farcical.

The following report of No. 38 is a good description of how he and No. 28 were introduced to one another by John L. Gehr:

Dear Sir:—

OPERATIVE NO. 38 REPORTS:

Trinidad, Colo., Wednesday, February 25th, 1903.

After having breakfast, Curtis and I started out to hunt John Gehr at the Trinidad Hotel where he stays. We learned that he had not gotten up yet this morning. We then sat around the bar-room a while, when, as he had not shown up yet, we went up to his room, and found him awake but still in bed. He, however, invited us in and was both surprised and glad to see us. Then, after exchanging greetings, he got up and dressed, and invited us to accompany him to another room where, he said, he wanted to introduce us to a friend. He introduced us to a Mr. J. Frank Strong, who comes from Fremont County, and from Gehr's home local, and was a candidate for District Secretary against Simpson last Fall. Gehr introduced Strong as his best friend. We talked until Strong was dressed, when we went down into the bar-room, where we had drinks, after which Gehr and Strong went to breakfast. Curtis and I went up to the county jail to see Jim Ritchie, promising to meet Gehr and Strong again on our return from the jail. After visiting Ritchie, we returned down-town, and at the Horse Shoe Club we met Gehr, Strong, Frank Hefferle and several other men from Majestic. We learned that they were to attend a trial. It appears, that a fellow who is cooking at the boarding house at Majestic, got a valentine recently that did not suit him, and he blamed Hefferle for sending it, and told Hefferle that if he did not get out of camp immediately, he would kill him. Hefferle had him arrested and the trial was to take place to-day, and they had sought Gehr's counsel. He was trying to settle it out of court, which, I believe, he finally did with the assistance of Curtis. At the first opportunity I began to sound Gehr with regard to these two organizers mentioned in a letter to me; but if they are here, he would not let anything out to indicate that he knew anything about it. I did not, however, ask him outright if they were here, but if they are here he could gain nothing by not telling me so, so I will surely find them out. Generally, Gehr is as open as a book on such matters with me, which leads me to believe that if these organizers have been ordered here, they have not yet arrived, or at least have not made their presence known to Gehr. However, he did tell me that he had been informed that James Kennedy had got a commission, and was going to assume his duties on the first of March. I can now see that there is going to be a clash of authority when Howells returns here, as he and Gehr have exactly opposite views on the system of organization. Gehr is bitterly opposed to the Group System, and Howells thinks it is the only way to organize District No. 15. Gehr said, that when he came down here he had not intended to remain here, but had simply intended to see how things were going, and then return north and go into Wyoming, but he had found the Trinidad Local in such a dilapidated condition that he had decided to remain here and try to put it on its feet again. He then went on to criticize old Bill Howells for letting the local go to pieces after he (Gehr) had laid the foundation for the best local in the district. I then asked him if the national officers had promised anything for District No. 15 while he was back there in attendance at the convention. He said they had not promised him very much, but he felt that whenever we could convince John Mitchell that we had restored harmony in Districtt No. 15, and were all working together, we could safely expect something from the National. We then all went to dinner and I saw no more of Gehr until after supper, and then the talk was almost entirely on Jim Ritchie's case, and the one between Hefferle and the other fellow. At 10.30 P. M. I left Gehr and went to my room and retired for the night.

Yours respectfully, ...

CHAPTER XX.

PINKERTONS AND COAL MINERS IN COLORADO—NO. 38, ROBERT M. SMITH.

Despite the fact that with the assistance of Operatives Strong and Smith, the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company prevented their coal miners from organizing, the latter, nevertheless, managed to maintain a half-hearted, inactive union in the State, known officially as District No. 15.

The brave struggle put up by the Western Federation apparently instilled a little courage into the faint hearts of the coal miners, for at the convention held by them in Pueblo, September, 1903, there seemed to be a unanimity of purpose to do something definite to improve the conditions under which for so many years they had been oppressed and ground down.

Deeply interested as they were in the affairs and plans of the United Mine Workers of America, the Fuel & Iron Company and the Pinkerton Agency felt they would be doing injustice to themselves if they did not participate in the deliberations of the convention. To accomplish their benevolent purpose, Operative Robert M. Smith attended the convention as a delegate from a Southern local, and assisted his brother delegates as best he could. True, the convention was open; yet a report of the proceedings by a Pinkerton operative was more desirable and reliable, in the opinion of the Agency and the coal company, than a similar report from newspaper representatives.

The following reports of Operative Smith will give the reader a fair idea of what the coal miners of Colorado, in convention assembled, spoke, did and planned:

Dear Sir:—

OPERATIVE NO. 38 REPORTS:

Pueblo, Colo., Thursday, Sept. 24th, 1903.

The first thing that took place this morning was a lengthy discussion as to whether the press reporters should be allowed in the convention. Howells contended that the more publicity we gave our deliberations, the better, as it was the public mind we wanted to reach, and it was finally decided to let the reporters remain as long as they reported truthfully the actions of the convention, but that on the first false report going out, the reporter giving it, and the paper he was working for, would be excluded from the convention. The President's report was then read, and dwelt principally upon the efforts that had been put forth within the last year toward the organization of District No. 15, and the almost utter failure of the efforts. It also dwelt at some length on the efforts of himself and others to get a meeting with the operators of District No. 15, to adjust an equitable wage scale, and its failure also, and he offered some recommendations as to his views with relation to precipitating a strike in District No. 15, which all present seemed to fully concur in. The sentiments of all delegates present, except John Gehr and Jim Ritchie, are enthusiastically in favor of a strike, and they are anxious to see it declared as soon as we get a substantial promise from the National that we will be supported. Jim Ritchie offered a resolution to the convention, commending the striking miners at Cripple Creek and roundly condemning the Governor and Sherman Bell. The resolution was referred to the Resolution Committee. There was then a committee chosen consisting of Smith, of Erie, Colorado; P. P. Mort, of Colorado Springs; J. L. Campbell, of Fremont County; James Kennedy, National Organizer, and William Price, of Palisades, to draw up a wage scale to present to the operators for adoption, and if they refused to consider it, it would be placed before the National Executive Board for their approval; and if they approved it, a strike would be called immediately after the National Executive Board meeting, October 5th. There was a telegram from an operator at Port Smith, Arkansas, to the effect that 500 union coal miners could get work at once in that vicinity. The dispatch was heartily applauded. The convention then adjourned at 5.30 P. M. until 9.00 A. M. to-morrow, and after supper myself, Jim Kennedy, Wm. Price, *State Labor Commissioner Montgomery*, Mr. Hamilton, organizer for the American Federation of Labor, and several other delegates, started out to take in the town. ***Montgomery told me he was here as a personal representative of Governor Peabody, and he could say that we miners had the sympathy*** *of the Governor, and that we had his (Montgomery's) full sympathy,* and he would use his full influence to keep the Governor on our side, and he considered his influence with the Governor pretty strong. Hamilton substantiated his statements, and said he believed the coal miners were fully justified in their demands, and the Governor thought so too; *but, of course, the delegates are a little skeptical in accepting such statements in view of the prevailing conditions at Cripple Creek, and also the fact that Montgomery was somewhat intoxicated* when he made the statements. He said he was going to address the convention while here, defining his position, also that of the Governor toward the coal miners of Colorado. We were out until after midnight, when we retired for the night.

Friday, Sept. 25th, 1903.

This morning the Scale Committee offered the following scale for consideration and ratification of the convention:

Demand No. 1, an eight-hour day; No. 2, semi-monthly payday; No. 3, abolition of the scrip system; No. 4, better ventilation in mines; No. 5, twenty per cent. advance on all contract mining; No. 6, that all company or day men receive the same pay for eight hours as is paid now for ten hours. This caused a lengthy discussion, F. P. Mott, delegate from the Springs, taking the stand that the various unions in El Paso County had already presented their yearly agreement to the operators of that place for their ratification, and that they had until October 1st to sign up, and that this scale would abrogate the El Paso miners' contract, and would place them in the position of repudiating their own contract, but he was finally convinced that the 15th District was larger than El Paso County, and that legislation at a district convention took priority over any local or sub district contracts or legislation. Then John Gehr took a stand in opposition to the scale, saying the operators would never agree to it, as it was asking entirely too much, and *would surely cause a strike if we tried to enforce it.* He was opposed by all the delegates, except Jim Ritchie, with the argument that it was not too much to ask, and they did not care if it did cause a strike, as they practically had the assurance that the National Board would endorse it and support them in case of a strike. Gehr then said he as National Board member, and the proper one to place said demand before the National Board, would not carry such a demand before said board, as he did not consider it a fair demand, or entitled to the consideration of the National Board, *and did not think we stood one chance in 100 in enforcing such a demand,* even by striking, and he did not favor a strike anyway *until we were more thoroughly organized.* The fact was pointed out to him by

Kennedy and others that we could not continue the organization under the tyrannical methods employed by the operators at all the camps in the South, and that he was a servant of District No. 15, and would have to carry out the demands of District No. 15, or cease to work for District No. 15, but if he would not carry the demands of District No. 15 before the National, that Con Kelleher would. Kelleher had already signified his willingness to do so. Gehr was drunk all through the sessions of the convention, and he left the convention in a rage, and the demands were fully ratified and ordered printed, and a copy ordered sent to each of the coal companies operating in District No. 15. This took up the time until noon and was not finished until some time in the afternoon. Then Con Kelleher gave the convention an address, reiterating the statements made to me several days ago, and *which I reported at the time, that John Mitchell had instructed him to make the fact that he had met and conferred with John Mitchell as public as possible, and that Mitchell was going to convene the National Executive Board October 5th for no other purpose than to consider the grievances of District No. 15,* and he had instructed him (Kelleher) to return to District No. 15, and have the convention draw up a scale, and come to the National Executive Board meeting and lay the scale of District No. 15 before that body, and John Mitchell had as good as told him he thought the fight of District No. 15 would be taken up by the National. He also said he had talked with a number of the operators of Missouri while there, and all of them begged him to send all the men to them he could in case Colorado came on strike. This news was received with applause. This and minor matters consumed the balance of the day, and at 5.30 the convention adjourned until 9.00 o'clock to-morrow. *After supper I undertook to write up my report,* but was interrupted several times, and when I finished yesterday's report, I gave it up, and went out with a number of the delegates and took in the town until about midnight, when we returned to the hotel, and I soon retired for the night. The sentiment of all the delegates with whom I discussed the subject was, that there never was a more opportune time than now to make such a demand as we were now making, and they all thought that with the support of the National we ought to win in a great measure, at least.

Saturday, Sept. 26th, 1903.

This morning there was a resolution introduced condemning John L. Gehr for an article which appeared in the "Pueblo Chieftain" this morning, which is attached. This caused quite a wordy battle in the convention, as in the original resolution there was a paragraph to the effect that Gehr was continually intoxicated. Moran, Ritchie and Tom Hurley said that while that was the truth, it was putting it too strong to the public, and Jim Kennedy, Julian Gradel and a number of others said it was not strong enough, as he deserved greater censure for what he had done. The resolution finally passed with the clause pertaining to his intoxication stricken out. Gehr was not present, having gone home last night. This was one of the reasons given by Jim Ritchie for fighting the resolution. There were several resolutions of minor importance, also several minor amendments to the constitution submitted, and passed, which took up the time until the noon adjournment, and the first thing after reconvening in the afternoon, *Chas. Moyer, President of the W. F. of M., was introduced, and spoke at some length on Trades Unionism, Socialism and the Cripple Creek strike and militarism,* and in conclusion said he believed the W. F. of M. would eventually win their strike, and he hoped the U. M. W. of A. would immediately demand the eight-hour day, which, he believed, would strengthen the position of the W. F. of M., and he hoped the U. M. W. of A. would succeed in forcing the autocratic operators to comply with their demands, and that they had the sympathy of the W. F. of M., and any financial aid that the W. F. of M. could give them. John C. Sullivan, President of the State Federation of Labor, was then introduced, and talked at some length on the failure of the 14th General Assembly to pass the eight-hour bill, and said he believed that the only eight-hour bill which would stand was the eight-hour bill passed by Organized Labor, by refusing to work longer. He also went over the Cripple Creek situation, and predicted the ultimate success of the strikers, and said he hoped the U. M. W. of A. would get some concessions from the operators, but he was afraid it would take a strike to bring these same operators to their senses, and that the U. M. W. of A. had the entire sympathy and moral support and whatever financial aid the State Federation could give. At the conclusion of Sullivan's remarks, a resolution was introduced declaring for a free interchange of transfer cards with all legal unions, which after some discussion passed.

The resolution condemning the Governor was then taken up and unanimously passed. Then the grievance of the locked-out men at Rugby was taken up, and after some discussion there was a resolution passed that the district give Rugby $100.00 now, and that each delegate on his return home request his union to donate $5.00, and as much more as they can spare to re-imburse the district treasury, and that if more than $100.00 comes in from this call, the excess is to be given to the Rugby union. The canvassing board then declared the following officers elected for the ensuing term: National Executive Board Member, James Kennedy; District President, Wm. Howeils; District Vice-President, James Graham; District Secretary-Treasurer, John Simpson; District Executive Board Member for Sub District No. 1, Chas. Billington, Louisville, Colorado. Sub District No. 3, I did not get. Sub District No. 4, Robert Beveridge, Aguilar, Colorado. Sub District No. 6, Frank Hefferley, of Blossburg, and Mr. Harlem were nominated and referred to a referendum vote of the sub district for a choice, this being a newly-created sub district taken from Sub District No. 4. After deciding by vote to hold the next annual convention in Pueblo the third Monday in September, 1904, and having a few short talks from the newly-elected officers, the convention adjourned sine die, and after supper the entire crowd of delegates took in the town together until about 10.00 P. M., when they began leaving for their respective homes, and at 1.30 A. M. I took the train home, where I arrived at about 6.00 A. M.

Yours respectfully, …………

As the reader will observe in the above reports, it was the sense of the convention that unless they made a determined stand for their rights, their organization would soon fall into irretrievable ruin, a misfortune which would subject the coal miners indefinitely to the grind of a system destructive alike to body and soul. Therefore, in order to save the union and themselves, the miners laid their just grievances before John Mitchell, National President of the United Mine Workers of America, and begged him to come to their assistance.

President Mitchell responded to this appeal, and wired the management of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company, asking for an interview between the operators and the union looking toward a peaceable adjustment of the miners' grievances. The company, in answer to Mr. Mitchell's request, sent him this telegram:

Denver, October 7th, 1903.

John Mitchell, Indianapolis, Indiana.

Answering your telegram of yesterday in Mr. Hearn's absence, I have to say that we have not been advised and do not believe that our miners have any desire to strike, as we have always been able to adjust directly with them any differences that exist.

We do not think your organization is authorized to represent our miners, as very few of them belong to it.

If you understand the situation as it really is, you no doubt regard the inciting of any further industrial disturbances in Colorado as ill-advised and criminal.

J. F. WELBORN.

In this telegram Mr. Welborn gives one the idea that the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company was absolutely ignorant of the doings of the coal miners' union, and innocently believed that their employees really had no cause for complaint. Considering that they kept jealous, ceaseless watch on their men, openly through deputy sheriffs, secretly through Pinkerton operatives, it would seem to us that the above telegram is either a white or a black lie. Regardless of color, the fact remains that the telegram of the fuel company to President Mitchell is a lie, and an insolently-worded one at that. However, nowadays a corporation can behave as it pleases, when thousands of bayonets are at its command for the mere asking.

Besides, the company actually hungered for a battle. Its position was so secure, and its plans for defence and offence so perfect, that a conflict, particularly during Governor Peabody's administration, could only end with ignominious defeat for the coal miners, and would enable the company to give the latter such a lesson that they would not dare to think of striking again for years to come.

President Mitchell accepted the challenge implied in the company's telegram and ordered the coal miners of Colorado to strike. In brief, the demands of the miners were, an eight-hour day, increased wages, payment of wages in United States money, and the right of the men to join a union.

In the beginning the strike seemed destined to succeed. The demands of the poor miners were so just, that their cause ought to have won on its merits. Again, almost all the coal miners in the Southern fields had responded to the call, quit work, and affiliated with the union.

The United Mine Workers of America and the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company now faced each other on the industrial battle field, the former confident of success, the latter grimly secure in the knowledge of victory already won.

Operatives Smith and Strong, being old and tried union men, were now able to render good service. Operative Smith was at this time especially worth his weight in gold to the company, for he possessed the absolute confidence of the leaders of the strike, and knew days in advance what the union intended to do. Thus, if the leaders secretly planned to send an organizer to a certain camp to address, encourage and get together the men of that camp, Operative Smith would at once send the news to the Agency and the company.

As a result of Operative Smith's "clever and intelligent" work, a number of union organizers received severe beatings at the hands of unknown masked men, presumably in the employ of the company.

The following incident was one of many events of a like nature that helped break the coal miners' strike.

About February 13th, 1904, William Fairley, of Alabama, a member of the National Executive Board of the United Mine Workers of America and the personal representative of President Mitchell in the conduct of the Colorado strike, had addressed coal miners' meetings near the towns of Hastings and Majestic. Assisting Mr. Fairley was James Mooney, of Missouri, also a member of the National Executive Board of the union. The town of Hastings is an almost impregnable stronghold of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company, a town which the unhallowed feet of a union organizer may not enter.

After the union leaders had left Majestic, and while they were about one and one-half miles from Bowen, eight masked men held them up with revolvers, dragged them from their wagon, threw them to the ground, beat them, kicked them, and almost knocked them into insensibility. More than likely Operative Smith subsequently listened to their tale of woe with indignantly flashing eyes, and bewailed the cruel fate which seemed to dog them at every step.

We cannot blame the coal miners' union for their failure. How should they know that their most dangerous, implacable enemy was one who for years had been and still was above suspicion, in fact, one whose apparent zeal and self-sacrifice endeared him to all his comrades?

On Saturday, April 30th, 1904, W. M. Wardjon, a national organizer of the United Mine Workers, while on board a train en route to Pueblo, was assaulted by three men at Sargents, about thirty miles West of Salida. Mr. Wardjon was beaten into unconsciousness.

The Colorado Fuel & Iron Company will naturally disavow their connection with these outrages; yet, we ask, and the public asks: How was it possible, in the first place, for anyone not on the inside of things to follow up the route of the union organizers so correctly? In the second place, can we believe that men will mask themselves and beat their fellow-men into insensibility, unless they are ordered to do so by someone above them, and paid well for their criminal services? Third, it is impossible to believe that the leaders of the union hired thugs to hold them up, and unmercifully beat them. Fourth, there was only one way whereby the moves of the union leaders could be accurately known in advance by any outsiders, namely, through a leak in the union. Fifth, we know that this leak was in the person of the talented Pinkerton Detective Robert M. Smith. Sixth, as the latter reported exclusively to the Agency and to the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company, there can be no doubt on earth that the outrages described were committed by thugs hired expressly for that criminal work by some responsible official or officials of the company.

People have been condemned to death on circumstantial evidence far weaker than is ours; and we can see no reason why, in the interests of a common brotherhood, such rascally methods as were very probably adopted by the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company with the active co-operation of Pinkerton's National Detective Agency, should not be thoroughly aired before the public.

Turn as they would, the leaders of the coal miners in Colorado met shameful defeat. Trained and veteran leaders of the United Mine Workers, who had achieved notable victories for President Mitchell in Eastern States, met their Waterloo in the Colorado strike. That wolf in sheep's clothing in their midst, that man who was a coal miner by trade and a Pinkerton operative by profession, circumvented all their plans, defeated all their hopes, and helped rivet the shackles of a miserable servitude more closely than ever before on the emaciated limbs of those men who trusted implicitly in his loyalty and honor, and called him "BROTHER."

After playing with the bewildered strikers for two or three months, much the same as a cat does with a mouse, the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company decided to end the already broken strike, by letting loose the military on the unfortunate miners.

We hate to refer again to Governor Peabody. The very mention of his name has a sickening effect. But again refer to him we must, and will.

Somehow the coal miners had got the foolish idea that Governor Peabody was very friendly to them, and would do all in his power to advance their cause with the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company. Never was a more grotesquely pitiable mistake made. . . . Justice and compassion from this tool of capital?

His Excellency never hesitated to tell a falsehood. The reader has noticed that. But we cannot give this one-time governor the credit for being even an expert liar. Governor Peabody was an amateur at the calling, and a bungler. The following incident demonstrates the truth of the statement, and also proves how friendly the governor was to the coal miners.

On August 21, 1903, a committee of the United Mine Workers of America, consisting of President William Howells of District No. 15; John L. Gehr, a member of the National Executive Board; and Duncan MacDonald, a National Organizer, came to Denver for the purpose of enlisting the governor's aid in behalf of the miners. The committee felt emboldened in approaching the governor because it was generally understood that Colorado's executive felt friendly toward the good coal miners, and really would not deal with them harshly as he had dealt with the bad Western Federation of Miners.

The committee went to the State Capitol, where they requested an interview with the governor. The governor's private secretary told them to call again in the afternoon at 2.30. When they called at the appointed time, they were informed that the governor would not receive them. One of the committee later said to a representative of the press: "He was perfectly willing to meet with us as individuals, but to treat with us as a committee, never."

On July 30th, 1904, after all the strikes had been suppressed by the militia, Governor Peabody published a statement in the press, from which we quote:

> "It will be a matter of great regret to me if the laboring men of this State fail to see that I am fighting their battle, for I sincerely believe that Organized Labor has no more dangerous enemy than the Western Federation of Miners, which is seeking under the cloak of Organized Labor to pro-

tect itself alike in the promulgation of its dishonest Socialistic theories, which recognizes no right to private property, and from the result of its anarchistic tenets and tendencies. Legitimate labor organizations of necessity suffer from the criminal aggressions of the Federation."

Here it is: On August 21st, 1903, Governor Peabody would not even extend a committee of the conservative and legitimate United Mine Workers of America the courtesy of an interview, because they called on him as representatives of a labor union. Scarcely one year later, on July 30th, 1904, the same governor poses as a friend of labor, and would give the latter a bit of fatherly advice by warning "legitimate labor organizations to beware of the criminal aggressions of the Western Federation of Miners."

Had Governor Peabody been an artist, he would never have published the above statement.

And now let us see how the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company, after having shattered the strength of the strikers and broken the courage of their leaders through the clever work of Operative Smith, finally tipped over the already tottering wall, and buried in its ruins the last atoms of resistance to their unscrupulous methods.

The betrayed union leaders were discouraged and weary of the strike within about three months after its commencement, and the rank and file shared in the despondency of their chiefs. The Colorado Fuel & Iron Company knew the state of mind of both leaders and men, thanks to Operative Smith. They decided that the time was now ripe to put the finishing touches to this miserable struggle by calling on the governor to send the militia down to Las Animas County to teach the miners that the modern definition of "strike" is "rebellion."

Governor Peabody, who would not treat with the representatives of a labor union in their official capacity, had no hesitancy in going down on his knees before capitalists who "demanded" that he send troops to wage war against men whose crime was that they wished to be treated like human beings and not worse than dogs.

We know we cannot surprise the reader by telling him that on March 22nd, 1904, the governor declared the County of Las Animas to be in a state of insurrection and rebellion. The surprise comes rather in the wording of His Excellency's proclamation, which is almost identical with his previous proclamations placing San Miguel and Teller Counties under martial law.

This last proclamation proves what an inconsistent and reckless falsifier Peabody was, and bars him forever from the society of artistic liars.

The governor, in his final message to the State legislature, had this to say under the heading of Industrial Troubles:

> "Early in my administration a certain organization known as the Western Federation of Miners, claiming public consideration under the name of Labor, whose officers and those in direct charge of its management are bold, careless, reckless men, attempted to ferment trouble in several of the industrial sections of Colorado to the end that that particular organization should have recognition in the operation and management of the mines, mills and smelters wherever located in the State, which effort culminated in the arbitrary calling of the most senseless, causeless, unjustifiable and inexcusable strikes ever known in this or any other country.
>
> "Believing that my duty to the people of this State lay in protecting life and property in advance of annihilation, I proceeded to stop the unlawful methods of this reckless band of men. The incidents of the altogether too long conflict are so familiar to every resident of Colorado, I shall not dwell upon them. Suffice it to say law and order was maintained, peace restored and prosperity immediately followed.
>
> "Anarchy cannot continue under our American form of government, and the people of this State breathe free in the knowledge that they are entitled to lawful protection, and when the laws are enforced, can obtain it."

According to his proclamation placing Las Animas County under martial law, the United Mine Workers of America, like the Western Federation of Miners, were a

> "Class of individuals which are fully armed and are acting together resisting the laws of the State, and that at different times said persons and individuals have committed various crimes, and that from time to time attempts have been made by said parties to destroy property," etc., etc.

Despite the fact that in the above proclamation he painted the coal miners as black as the coal they mined, the governor, in his message, never mentioned one word about his outrageous campaign against them, a campaign which for cruelty and brutality could not, we believe, be paralleled even in the annals of Ivan the Terrible.

Assuming that the governor said nothing about the coal miners' strike, because of the great wrongs he had done them; also considering that he proclaimed them as outlaws in the same manner that he had outlawed the quartz miners; knowing as we do, that whatever crimes were committed in the Southern coal fields, were on the persons and property of the strikers,—it follows that the governor's proclamation affecting the coal miners is as black a fabrication as the hearts of the officials of the coal company.

As the word of a notorious fabricator would not be believed under oath by a jury, we cannot see why Peabody's word should be believed when he charges other persons or organizations with the crimes that he charged the innocent, atrociously persecuted members of the United Mine Workers of America.

Major Zeph T. Hill was appointed commander of the militia in Las Animas County, with headquarters at Trinidad. Major Hill was a very energetic officer, and the coal miners, no doubt, remember him with great affection.

Curfew was established and enforced. No person was allowed on the streets after 9 o'clock in the evening.

The coal miners were photographed like notorious criminals, by the Bertillon system. Eighty strikers at Berwind, who objected to being thus humiliated, were marched by a detail of cavalry for twenty miles to Trinidad, in a scorching hot sun, where sufficient force was available to photograph and register these men according to the Bertillon system. The men were given nothing to eat or drink on the road, and one man who fell by the road-side was left lying in the sun. This event occurred on May 19th, 1904.

Meetings of the coal miners' union were forbidden, unless a soldier was present at every meeting.

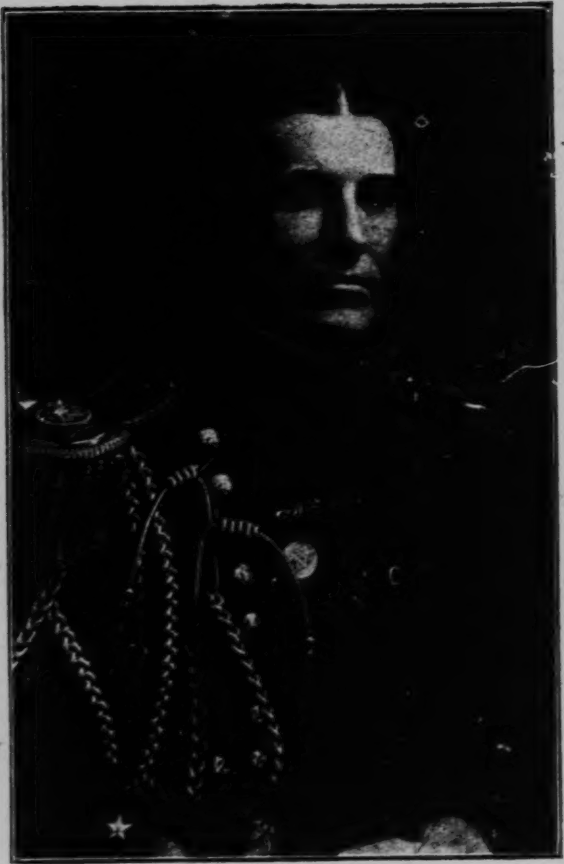
The press, the telegraph and telephone were placed under rigid military censorship.

Coal miners were deported from the State by train-loads, without reason and without appeal.

The union had established a little colony of tents known as Camp Howells in "Packers Grove," located in the river bottoms near Trinidad. About 400 striking coal miners lived in this colony, where they were provided for by their national organization. The Colorado Fuel & Iron Company knew that these men, comfortably situated as they were, would never give up the strike, so they apparently gave secret instructions to Major Hill, who, on the pretext that the camp was unsanitary, gave the miners three days to clear out and disperse. The miners humbly obeyed this order.

This was a campaign against American citizens who wanted to work eight hours and to receive their wages in lawful money of the United States.

The coal miners could not stand the oppressive rule of the military. President Mitchell wisely concluded that so long as a sworn tool of the corporations was the governor of the State, labor could not hope to get fair treatment, and he therefore ordered the



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GEN. SHERMAN BELL

Colorado unions to call the strike off, and withdrew the support of the national organization from Colorado. The Colorado union officials stubbornly refused to obey President Mitchell's orders, and continued the strike a short time longer, when it fell of its own weight.

The strikers humbled themselves before the triumphant coal company and returned to the mines again to toil twelve-hour shifts, and again receive their hard-earned wages in the scrip which enables the company to sell to their employees the necessaries of life at atrociously high prices.

During the few months that the strike had lasted, the United Mine Workers of America had expended a huge sum of money.

When the strike was over, President Mitchell decided to appoint a reliable man to attempt again to organize the coal miners, despite the vigilance of the company. As a good salary was attached to this position, there were plenty of candidates; but, after thoroughly considering the various applicants, President Mitchell appointed as national organizer for the United Mine Workers of America, that tried and true devotee of unionism, that incorruptible foe of corporate tyranny and aggression, that virtuous, intrepid, rare and conscientious friend of labor, who had done so much to make the coal miners' strike a success, Pinkerton Operative Robert M. Smith, No. 38.

And the officials of Pinkerton's Agency, and the officials of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, laughed as well as hard-hearted men are able when they heard how completely the leaders of the United Mine Workers had been duped; especially by No. 38, who of all others had done the most effective work to break the strike of the coal miners in Colorado.

CHAPTER XXI.

PINKERTONS AND COAL MINERS IN WYOMING—NO. 15, THOMAS J. WILLIAMS.

While the events we have described in the foregoing chapters were transpiring in Colorado, a battle as fiercely contested was being fought between Pinkerton's Agency and the United Mine Workers in the State of Wyoming. Here, as in Colorado, the union fought absolutely in the dark, neither seeing nor suspecting the real source of all their astonishing defeats.

Wyoming is rich in mineral deposits of different varieties; but the production of coal is one of the leading industries of the State. The biggest coal-producing mines in Wyoming are at Rock Springs, Carbon and Hanna, and most of them belong to the Union Pacific Coal Company.

The Union Pacific Coal Company bears the same relation to Wyoming that the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company does to Colorado; and Pinkerton's Agency has served the former in exactly the same manner that it has served the latter.

It is now strongly suspected that the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company has for many years accepted huge rebates from different railroad companies, in gross and open violation of the laws, for the purpose of destroying competition, and it is possible that the Federal Government may put a stop to this practice. It is now also strongly suspected that the Union Pacific Coal Company has been guilty of stealing immense tracts of valuable government coal lands. It also seems to be the common belief that no searching investigation of this gigantic steal will ever be made, because persons "very high up" on Wyoming's political ladder are parties to this transaction.

In Colorado a corporation which helped to blight competitive business in violation of the law, was able, with the help of the Pinkertons and of the law, to reduce its coal miners to a condition amounting to slavery.

And in Wyoming we find that while those high up in State and national politics are permitted to steal coal lands worth millions of dollars, nevertheless, a coal miner working for the corporation thieves is not permitted by the latter to say that his life is his own.

If the truth be told, the Union Pacific Coal Company is probably worse than the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company, in that it not only treats its miners as badly as does the latter corporation, but in addition the Wyoming concern has even tried, with fairly good success, to supplant American with cheap, foreign labor.

The first great fear of the Union Pacific Coal Company very likely is, that the Federal Government may pry too closely into its questionable land manipulations. To guard against such an outrage, the righteous company has hired a multitude of lawyers, highly skilled in getting around the law.

The second great fear of the Wyoming coal corporation is that its poor, under-paid, miserably-housed, half-starved miners might be organized into locals of the United Mine Workers of America. To prevent such a calamity, the company has done two things. First, it has employed as miners but a minimum of Americans. The majority of their men are Italians, Chinese and Japanese, who are accustomed to such ridiculously small wages in their home countries that the wages they receive from the Union Pacific Coal Company seem to them a princely sum. Again, as very few of these workers understand any language outside of their respective native tongues, an organizer would have to be an expert linguist to unionize them.

As a second measure of protection against the coal miners' union, the company has on and off employed Pinkerton detectives for many years. At the time of which our narrative treats, the Pinkerton operative discharging his laudable functions in behalf of the Union Pacific Coal Company was Thomas J. Williams, No. 15.

This operative worked as a bona fide coal miner in the company's mines at Rock Springs, located in the southwestern part of Wyoming.

When the coal miners of Colorado went out on strike, the Union Pacific Coal Company became apprehensive lest the strike wave should extend to Wyoming, and, in order to prevent such an event, they redoubled their usual vigilance, and instructed Operative Williams to be more than ever on the alert.

From their standpoint, the Union Pacific Coal Company was not altogether foolish in taking these precautions. President Mitchell of the United Mine Workers had for a number of years made efforts to organize the coal miners of Rock Springs, and he thought that now, as the Colorado miners had dared to make a stand, the time was ripe to make a successful effort to bring the Wyoming miners into the fold of his organization.

True, the time was ripe, and the employees of the Wyoming coal trust were in such a discontented frame of mind that they could have been easily persuaded to join the union. But President Mitchell reckoned without Operative No. 15.

Mr. Mitchell sent organizer after organizer to Rock Springs. As quickly as an organizer came, Operative Williams took charge of him, told him confidentially that he was an old, good-standing member of the United Mine Workers, and offered to assist him to the best of his ability. Naturally, the organizer was glad and happy to avail himself of such a generous, unexpected offer, and quite naturally, too, the spy was the organizer's right hand in arranging and preparing for secret meetings and in secretly inviting miners to be present.

Once or twice the organizers attempted to rent halls at Rock Springs, but as the company, through No. 15, knew hours in advance what the next move was to be, the union leaders would find that the owners of the different halls strangely refused to let them out. Several times meetings were arranged to take place after midnight; but, scarcely would the meeting be opened, when either the superintendent or some of the foremen of the mines would put in an appearance, and the poor, timid miners, on beholding their employers and foremen, would fly from the gathering as though from a pestilence. Perhaps two dozen such secret meetings were thus invaded and broken up by Superintendent Black or some of his lieutenants, to the utter consternation, confusion and bewilderment of the organizers, who wrathfully declared to the operative that never in their careers had they met with such misfortune in organizing a coal camp.

The operative was also highly indignant at their lack of success, and told the organizers he did not believe, from the apparent look of things, that Rock Springs could be unionized. It certainly did appear to the veteran agents of John Mitchell that the officials of the Union Pacific Coal Company had a stand-in with the devil; otherwise they could not understand how their well-laid, secret plans were so speedily and effectually checkmated by the company. Of course, had they known, or even suspected the real identity of "Brother Thomas J. Williams," the mystery would have been quickly solved.

But neither President Mitchell nor his agents for one moment suspected the devotion of Operative No. 15 to the cause of his oppressed brothers. They ascribed their continuous checks to the inexplainable, supernatural ingenuity of the coal company.

President Mitchell finally decided to make one more desperate effort to capture Rock Springs, and sent down five or six organizers at one time to accomplish this purpose. One or two of these men were Italians. President Mitchell figured that the company would be unable to follow up the movements and actions of so many men, and that success would at length be theirs. The organizers were this time also told to hunt up Brother Williams, who would be a valuable help to them in their work.

Brother Williams probably had the time of his life with these organizers, as he led them such a merry dance that they finally dared not make another move, so convinced did they become that the company stood in collusion with some evil spirit. After a number of meetings had been easily thwarted through No. 15's prompt reports by 'phone or in person (at night) to Supt. Black, the organizers hit upon a novel scheme, namely, to arrange a meeting in the hills, outside of the city, after midnight.

The organizers, for the fiftieth time, secretly invited a number of coal miners to attend the meeting, and No. 15 secretly notified Supt. Black of the proposed midnight exodus. A number of miners came out to the place of meeting, and the organizers were about to congratulate themselves on their shrewdness, when suddenly a few company officials strolled up, and sat down to participate in the deliberations of the assembly. The minute the miners beheld the latest arrivals, they stampeded for home.

This last disastrous attempt convinced the organizers and President Mitchell that Rock Springs was impregnable, and that they might as well quit. The organizers were mystified and indignant, and the operative appeared to be just as puzzled and furious. They declared they could not understand it. He insisted just as vehemently that it was entirely beyond his comprehension. Another exclamation, another wrathful expletive, another handshake, and the train bearing President Mitchell's defeated lieutenants pulled out of Rock Springs, leaving Operative No. 15 absolute master of the situation, with a better standing than ever among the leaders of the United Mine Workers.

Afterwards Brother Williams, the gifted No. 15, lost his morals and took to drinking heavily, and as he could no longer render good service, the Agency unceremoniously discharged him, and replaced him with another operative.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE PINKERTONS IN CALIFORNIA—NO. 31, FRANK E. COCHRAN.

The activity of the Pinkerton Agency is by no means limited to any particular State or territory. On the contrary, it is the constant aim of the Agency to increase its power by establishing branch offices in every city where business looks promising. Not criminal business—God forbid. There is too little of it, and there is more glory than money attached to it; so that the Agency would have to get out of the business very quickly if it depended on the profits to be derived from this class of detective work.

This being the case, we must surmise that San Francisco and Los Angeles, in each of which cities the Agency maintains an office, must belong to that class of municipalities that look promising from a business point of view. Otherwise, it is as sure as the sun shines that the Pinkertons would never have opened up two branches in one State. From a business standpoint, California looks good to the Agency.

The Agency operates along the same lines in California as in other parts of the country. The only difference one can note is, that while in Colorado it is the miners whom the Agency endeavors to combat, it is the steamship, railroad and street car employees who principally receive their undesirable attention in California. Thus, there are Pinkertons working pretty steadily the whole year round as sailors, stevedores, freight handlers, brakemen, firemen, blacksmiths, machinists, boilermakers, dining-car waiters, cooks, conductors and motormen.

But it seems that the Agency has a mania for mining operations, and even in California we find arguseyed Pinkerton operatives watching every move of the miners, especially those who are suspected of having anything to do with the Western Federation of Miners. The officials of the San Francisco and Los Angeles offices have been so zealous in slandering this union that now, thanks to the Agency, if a miner should confess his affiliation with it, a California mine owner would refuse him employment. The members of that order are presumably cut-throats, assassins and dynamiters.

One California mining company, in particular, seems to have got this false impression from Pinkerton officials, and the result was a strike. We do not intend to describe this strike, which was of small consequence in comparison with the strikes in Colorado. But it is worth while to describe the Pinkerton spy who is the central figure of the episode.

In Shasta County, Cal., there is a flourishing mining camp named Keswick. The inhabitants of this camp are chiefly miners in the employ of the Mountain Copper Company, Limited. At the time of our story, in the early part of 1903, Lewis T. Wright was the general manager of the company. Manager Wright apparently became imbued with bitter animosity toward the Western Federation of Miners, which led him to hire a Pinkerton operative to discover which, if any, of his employees, belonged or wished to belong to that union.

The operative engaged on this work was Frank E. Cochran, No. 31 as he was known at the San Francisco office. No. 31 combined in his person traits which justify us in comparing him to Operative Crane of Colorado City, Operative Gratias of Denver, and Operative Smith of Trinidad.

Operative Cochran, like Operative Crane, furnished the company with the names of all those who secretly belonged to the Federation. This information resulted in a number of union employees being summarily discharged.

After a considerable number of union men had thus been let out, Manager Wright flattered himself that the rest of his employees would profit by the experience and give the Federation a wide berth. Safe in this thought Manager Wright left Keswick on a trip to Europe.

Directly the manager was gone, a reaction set in, and despite the reports of the operative, a strong union was soon organized, and a strike ordered on the Mountain Copper Company, for recognition of the union. As Mr. Wright's lieutenant was absolutely at sea, not knowing what to do, the strike dragged on for some time, without any prospect of a settlement.

However, on hearing of the trouble, Manager Wright hastened home, and on his arrival at Keswick the strike collapsed. He hired a large number of non-union men, which brought most of the strikers to terms, and put an end to the conflict.

After the strike was over, all the leaders of the defunct union were compelled to leave Keswick, for, under no conditions, would Manager Wright agree to reinstate them. This decision also affected Operative Cochran, the latter having figured prominently during the trouble as an active leader among the strikers. If the company were to reinstate the operative, they would perforce be obliged to reinstate the other leaders of the strike in order not to reveal the identity of No. 31 by making such a notable exception in his behalf. Much as Manager Wright disliked to give up the services of Operative Cochran, the idea of re-employing the other union leaders was still more distasteful to him. He therefore told the operative to leave Keswick in company with the other leaders, and asked the San Francisco office to detail a new operative to take the place of No. 31.

The Agency saw the wisdom of Manager Wright's action, and proceeded to look for a new operative. However, pending the hiring of a new man, the Agency ordered No. 31 to remain at Redding, a little town very close to Keswick, and to report from there to Manager Wright if he discovered any union men on their way to seek employment at the mines of the Mountain Copper Company.

No. 31 did as instructed, and in order not to draw suspicion on himself, got all kinds of odd jobs about Redding. In this manner the operative hid his identity, and at the same time kept Manager Wright posted as to every union man who was about to apply for work at his mines. It goes without saying that none of these men had luck.

Operative Cochran's work at Redding enabled Manager Wright to turn away such a large number of union applicants, that he finally became very desirous of keeping No. 31 at Redding indefinitely. Mr. Wright's only fear was that if the operative stayed too long at a little place like Redding, without steady employment, he would be suspected, and his usefulness destroyed. But, unexpectedly, an event, lucky for the Agency, Mr. Wright and the operative, occurred, which solved this problem.

The executive heads of the Western Federation felt chagrined at the total destruction of the Keswick Local of the order, and, naturally, were anxious to revive it. The only way they could hope to accomplish this was to have a large number of Federation men obtain employment in the company's mines. This, they figured, would be comparatively easy, as many Cripple Creek strikers were Westward bound, and would no doubt apply for work at Keswick. The Federation therefore felt if they had a trusted agent at or near Keswick to look out for the interests of the union and post union miners how to get work without arousing suspicion, that the Keswick union could once more be put upon its legs. Such a trusted agent the

Western Federation thought to have found in Operative Cochran, whom they communicated with, offering him the position of National Organizer for the union at a better monthly salary than he received from the Agency.

Operative Cochran laid the Federation's offer before the Agency and Manager Wright. Neither the one nor the other had expected such a Godsend, and both were emphatic in their instructions to the operative to accept the position. Manager Wright and the Pinkerton Agency were jubilant at the pleasant prospect of outwitting their persistent antagonists.

After securing the operative's valuable services, the Federation felt confident that they could, despite Manager Wright's alertness, rebuild the Keswick union; and the operative—well, he must have felt much the same as did Operative Smith when President Mitchell appointed him as National Organizer for the United Mine Workers.

After the operative received his commission as organizer for the Federation, his work became valuable indeed to the company, to whom he reported one or two days in advance the names of all union miners about to apply for work at their mines.

It is really surprising that the Federation did not wake to the duplicity of their organizer; but the fact remains that despite the latter's failure to accomplish any good whatever for the order, he continued to enjoy the absolute confidence of his superiors, and was invited by the latter to represent the miners of his section as a delegate-at-large at the annual convention of the Western Federation in Denver, in 1903.

Operative Cochran now came to Denver and participated in the deliberations of the Federation as a bona fide delegate to the convention. He wrote up daily reports of the convention's proceedings, and mailed them to a secret post office box of the Denver Agency. The Denver office revised and wrote up his reports as fast as they came in, and in thrifty, Associated Press style, serving many clients at once, sold complete copies to a number of Colorado mine and smelter owners, at twenty or twenty-five dollars per copy. This underground associated news service is a feature of labor conventions. In this phase of the game, the work of Frank E. Cochran may well be likened to the work of A. W. Gratias.

After the convention was over, the operative returned to Keswick and recommenced his old knavery with renewed energy, until the Federation, disappointed at his utter lack of progress, revoked his commission and discontinued his services.

The work of the Agency in this case resulted in the disruption of a small local union. We shall now describe how it broke up and totally destroyed a powerful national railroad order in the State of California.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE PINKERTONS IN CALIFORNIA—CONCLUDED. DESTRUCTION OF THE UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF RAILWAY EMPLOYEES.

The Pinkerton Agency did its best to break the strike of the Federation in Colorado, and met with doubtful success. It crushed the strike of the coal miners, and almost totally disrupted District No. 15 of the United Mine Workers. The Agency also signally defeated the strenuous efforts of President Mitchell to establish a local of his order at Rock Springs, Wyoming, and in addition destroyed a local union of the Federation at Keswick, California. However, we venture to assert the Agency will agree with us that its crowning achievement of the last decade was the destruction of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees.

The railroad brotherhoods hold a commanding position among the great labor orders of this country; but on the whole, their system of organization is rather defective. Imagine the many different departments of a great railroad system working at cross-purposes, and you will have a fair conception of the organization of the railroad men's unions, and will also understand why it was found necessary to wage a war of extermination against the United Brotherhood.

An employee of a railroad generally belongs to one or another of the following unions:

Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen.
Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.
Brotherhood of Railroad Conductors.
Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.
Brotherhood of Railroad Switchmen.
International Association of Machinists.

Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders of America.

International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths.

International Association of Car Workers.

Freight Handlers and Warehousemen's International Union of America.

Brotherhood of Railroad Telegraphers.

Each one of the above unions is an independent national organization, and cannot interfere or be interfered with in any matter by any of the other railroad brotherhoods.

This system of organization, in case of a strike, may cause unlooked-for complications. For example:

In 1902 President Horace G. Burt of Harriman's Union Pacific Railroad Company informed his employees of the mechanical department that on a certain date the piece-work system would supplant the old order of things. So very obnoxious was the proposed innovation to the machinists, blacksmiths and boilermakers, that they declared a strike on the Union Pacific Railroad.

President Burt insisted that the company had the right to manage their business in their own way, and that under no circumstances would he permit any union to interfere in the company's affairs.

This struggle was a veritable gold mine for the Pinkerton Agency. Supt. J. C. Fraser of the Denver office personally conducted the strike in the interests of the railroad, and for over a year made his headquarters at the Paxton Hotel in Omaha. A corps of operatives were employed in the company's shops at Omaha, Neb.; North Platte, Neb.; Rawlins, Wyo.; Cheyenne, Wyo.; Laramie, Wyo., and Denver, Colo., for the alleged purpose of preventing the union mechanics from injuring or destroying company property. These operatives reported to Supt. Fraser at Omaha, and the latter consulted daily with President

Burt. The different offices of the Agency were also busy hiring non-union mechanics for the company.

After the strike had lasted for several months, both belligerents were in sore straits, and more than likely had someone brought the contending parties together, a speedy settlement would have resulted. But a settlement would have meant a loss to the Agency. Therefore, the Agency kept on advising President Burt to hold out; that he was bound to win in the end, and that with the help of their operatives the strike would fall of its own weight.

President Burt believed the assurances of the Agency, and would have nothing to say to his striking employees. The railroad company and the unions were losing millions simply because the Pinkerton Agency wanted to make thousands. The reader will have a glimpse of the insatiable greed of the Agency when we state that it charged the railroad a rate of $6 per day and expenses for the services of Supt. Fraser's stenographer, whose regular salary was twelve dollars a week.

Thus the strike dragged on for many months, both sides being sick of the struggle and discouraged at the immense losses they had sustained, with Pinkerton's National Detective Agency the only obstacle in the way of a speedy and satisfactory settlement. The International Association of Machinists finally threatened to call out the mechanics of all the other Harriman railroads, if a settlement was not made.

This threat alarmed E. H. Harriman, who took the matter into his own hands, and agreed to settle the strike by arbitration, over the head of President Burt. This he did. The settlement was to the effect that no mechanic need work under the piece-work system if he did not wish to. Mr. Burt soon resigned his position as president of the railroad, and we feel safe in stating that he gave up his office because his conduct of the strike had been a failure. We further charge that had it not been for the evil counsel of the Agency, the strike would have been settled months earlier at an enormous saving to railroad and unions.

Had Mr. Harriman been as unyielding and uncompromising as President Burt, it is more than probable that the mechanics of all the Harriman lines would have been called out on a sympathetic strike. Such an event would have extended the area of disturbance over a number of States, and would have caused incalculable loss to the railroads and the mechanics.

From the preceding it can be readily seen that the weakness of the mechanics lay in the fact that they stood alone against the united and perfectly organized railroad corporation. Had all other railroad brotherhoods stood by the mechanics, President Burt would have been willing enough to arbitrate. But the other brotherhoods did not support the mechanics, and a two-year struggle was the result.

A resident of San Francisco, George Estes by name, recognized the principle that labor, as organized at the present time, is organized against itself, and cannot hope to cope on a footing of equality with solidly organized monopoly. Mr. Estes contended that since capital, irrespective of the nature of its business, was always ready to combine with capital in order to present a united front to labor—so labor, regardless of trade or occupation, should unite and co-operate with labor, in order to present a solid and invincible front to capital.

Mr. Estes undertook to demonstrate the truth of his theory by calling into existence the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees.

This union particularly affected the Southern Pacific Railroad, one of the Harriman lines. Every employee of this road, regardless of calling, was invited to become a member, and hundreds responded to the call, so that in a short time a number of strong local unions were established in different cities of California. The order was especially strong in Sacramento, the local union in that city having a membership of over seven hundred.

The Southern Pacific Railroad regarded the new brotherhood with suspicion and fear. They realized that an organization of this kind could tie up the entire road in an hour if any demands it might make were not properly considered; and the prospect of such a thing was heart-rending to the railroad officials. They commissioned the Pinkerton Agency to do its best to disrupt and destroy this dangerous union.

The Agency, nothing loth, took up the matter, and detailed a machinist operative to work as a mechanic in the Southern Pacific shops at Sacramento. Soon the operative became a member of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, and directly began to hammer away at that union.

The way the operative went about his work was peculiar, but effective. He did not attempt to belittle the power of the organization, or to insinuate that the basic principles of the newly-founded brotherhood were not good and sound. What he did do was to befoul and defame the character of President Estes. He privately told a number of the members that George Estes was an adventurer who had founded the order for his own personal benefit; that he was a thief, a robber, a traitor, and God knows what not.

This talk was repeated and believed, and before long the powerful Sacramento lodge became a shadow of its former self. The members nearly all resigned, because they believed the slanderous rumors about President Estes. The decline and fall of the Sacramento lodge brought about the gradual decadence of the order, and within about one year after it had been launched, the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees had ceased to be an important factor in the industrial world.

One curious phase of the work of the Agency in this case was that, while they were busy fighting the different railroad orders on the Union Pacific system, they were intriguing through their operative at Sacramento to induce the members of the United Brotherhood to leave it and join the International Association of Machinists, or some other old, long-established railroad trades union.

It is unnecessary to say that the actions of the Pinkerton operative at Sacramento were strictly in accord with the instructions given him by Division Manager James McParland and General Supt. B. F. Kemble of the San Francisco and Los Angeles offices.

CHAPTER XXIV.

WHAT THE PINKERTON AGENCY CLAIMS TO BE—A FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

The world-wide reputation of Pinkerton's National Detective Agency is not based on its achievements as labor-union baiter. Far from it. The fame of the institution is the result of the much-mooted skill of the Agency in the art of running down and capturing criminals. To a certain extent the Agency deserves credit for its work as thief-catcher. We are sure that no one will for a moment hesitate to congratulate the Pinkerton Agency or any other Agency on the successful conclusion of a legitimate criminal detective operation.

The Pinkerton Agency represents the following prominent organizations as authorized detective agents: The American Bankers' Association, The Jewelers' Protective Union, The Jewelers' Security Alliance and The Railway Ticket Protective Bureau.

The whole world knows that the Pinkerton Agency represents these organizations, because the Agency takes great pains to inform the world by printing elaborate yearly reports of its work for each of these societies, and in addition the fact is advertised on the official Agency letterheads. Besides, whenever the Agency succeeds in capturing a criminal who has wronged a member of any of the above mentioned associations, a careful report of the case is written up, and given to the press for the edification of those who glory in detective exploits.

In order to facilitate its criminal work, the Agency employs a number of informants who are "reformed" criminals. These men travel all over the country in the guise of tramps, and associate with the low criminal or "yegg." Whenever a crime is committed in which the Agency is interested, the reports of these informants are invaluable, as they enable the Agency to determine whether the crime was done by anyone belonging to the yegg brotherhood among which its informants circulate.

The Agency does very little criminal work outside of what operations it gets from the four organizations previously mentioned, and the bulk of this business is handled by the New York and Chicago offices. However, the institution has over eighteen branches, and all these branch offices sail the sea of prosperity under the same flag as the Chicago and New York offices. It is therefore of interest to figure out as nearly as possible how much money a branch office makes from criminal work. The Denver Agency is one of the most prosperous branches in the country, and we shall take that office as an example.

The following financial tables, as applied to the Denver office, are approximately correct, and demonstrate the financial workings of the Agency very clearly.

A week's expense in running the Denver office of Pinkerton's National Detective Agency:

Salary of Manager Western Division	$ 45.00
Salary of Superintendent	35.00
Salaries of Four Asst. Supt's	115.00
Salary of Chief Clerk	19.00
Salary of Bookkeeper	18.00
Salary of Cashier	16.00
Five Stenographers at average Salary of $14.00 each	70.00
Salary of Office Boy	5.00
Salary of Private Janitress	4.00
Office Rent	35.00
Stationery	12.00
Inter-Agency Telegrams	5.00
Telephone	2.50
Postage	10.00
Thirty Operatives at Average Salary of $15.00 each	450.00
Total Office and Operating Expense for one week	$841.50
Total Office and Operating Expense for one year	$43,758.00

It often happens that three or four weeks pass by, without Denver having even one criminal operation on hand; but, for argument's sake, we are willing to give the office credit for having as many as five criminal operations a week, every week in the year. The regular Agency rate for the services of operatives is $8 per day per man and expenses; but large corporations and the societies previously mentioned get a special rate of $6 per day per operative and expenses. Therefore, five operatives at $6 per day yield an income of $210 per week, or $10,920 per year.

Total Agency Expense per year..................	$43,758.00
Total Annual Agency Income from Criminal Work.	10,920.00
Net Annual Loss to the Denver Agency............	$32,838.00

It is plain that if the Denver office were to lose the large amount of $32,838 year after year, the Agency could not hope to remain in business. It is also reasonable to assume that if the conditions which prevail at the Denver office hold good at all other offices, the Pinkerton institution would lose more than $500,000 every year. That the Agency could not afford to lose millions in this manner is something everyone will perceive. That the Agency is making instead of losing millions, the following financial tables conclusively prove:

Denver Agency's Annual Income from Criminal Work—	
Five Operatives at $6 per day.....................	$10,920.00
This leaves 25 Operatives unaccounted for. Of these 25 Operatives, at most 7 only are working for the Special Rate of $6 per day.	
Annual Income from 7 Operatives at Special Rate of $6 per day..............................	15,288.00
Annual Income from 18 Operatives at Regular Rate of $8 per day..............................	52,416.00

Total Annual Income of Denver Agency for 30 Operatives	$78,624.00
Total Denver Agency Annual Income	$78,624.00
" " " Annual Expense	43,758.00
" " " Net Annual Profit	$34,866.00
If the Denver Office handled Criminal Detective Operations exclusively, the net Annual Loss would be	$32,838.00
Far from Losing, the Denver Office profits annually.	34,866.00
Which is a clear difference of	$67,704.00

The Denver office of the Pinkerton Agency therefore has an income of $67,704 a year, absolutely independent of its income resulting from bona fide criminal operations. And can there be any questioning the source of this large income? As well question the existence of the sun at night because it is not visible, as doubt that the Pinkerton Agency is making millions at the expense of the public by fomenting and keeping up constant strife between organized wealth and organized labor.

The following little story is interesting as a character study of an operative who "made good" under circumstances that would have made most men despair of success.

Sometime during the year 1904, the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company called on the Pinkerton Agency at Denver for a union iron molder operative to work at their foundry in Pueblo, in order to keep watch on the movements of the Pueblo Iron Molders' Union.

The Agency secured the services of a Denver union iron molder, and was about to send him forward to Pueblo, when the new operative informed the Agency that he could not take up the work, as the Denver Iron Molders' Union would not issue a transfer card to any member desiring to go to Pueblo. The Denver union took this step, the operative explained, at the request of the Pueblo union, as the latter suspected that "Pinkerton Spotters" might try to obtain a foothold in Pueblo in this manner.

The Denver officials wrote of their trouble to the Chicago Agency, and that office loaned the Denver branch one of their operatives who was a union iron molder. The name of this operative was Walter E. Agate, No. 88.

Operative Agate proceeded to Pueblo, and at once made a round of the different foundries, applying for work at all of them; but unfortunately for him, business in the foundry line was dull, and he could not get a job anywhere. A number of old Pueblo union molders were themselves out of work, and these men pointedly advised the operative to seek a job in some other city.

Operative Agate told the union boys that he came to Pueblo to get work, and that he would remain under any circumstances; that his wife was sick, and had to come to Colorado for her health, and that he simply had to get work at something in order to make a living for himself and his wife. No. 88 proved his apparent sincerity by accepting a position repairing the sewers of the City of Pueblo, in which position he worked as a common laborer for less than two dollars a day.

The operative's devotion to his sick wife won him the confidence of the Pueblo iron molders, with the result that soon No. 88 obtained a position at his trade at one of the large Pueblo foundries. As soon as he got employment, the Agency sent the operative's wife from Chicago to join her husband in Pueblo, in order to make good the fiction about her illness.

To lull suspicion still more, the operative, in accordance with instructions from the Denver Agency, religiously kept away from the union meetings. In a short time, his brother molders, noticing his indifference to the union, began to remonstrate and labor with him, and after much persuasion finally induced him to come to a meeting.

Little by little the operative began to warm up to the idea of the union as a benefit to the workingman, soon became devoted to it, and so very skillfully did he play his part, that at the first election which occurred after his advent in Pueblo, his comrades elected him secretary of the Pueblo Iron Molders' Union.

In this case, as in many others, the wit of the Agency triumphed over the suspicious vigilance of the labor union.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE MOYER-HAYWOOD-PETTIBONE CASE, NOW BEFORE THE PUBLIC—PINKERTON CONSERVATISM.

The Moyer-Haywood-Pettibone case is a thrilling chapter of conspiracy, wrong-doing, knavery and persecution; a chapter where we find governors, sheriffs and famous Pinkerton detectives acting to perfection the infamous rôles of rascals and kidnappers, in brazen defiance of laws and statutes; a chapter where men are to be tried for their lives on the strength of ill-grounded suspicion, distorted facts and perjured evidence; in short, a chapter so full of impossible situations, mischievous possibilities, glaring contradictions and sensational complications, that it reads more like a detective tale of the blood and thunder variety than a narrative of occurrences happening in real life.

This case reveals to us the monstrous spectacle of a man endeavoring to put to death three of his fellowmen on the mere strength of his own personal reputation, a reputation which is founded on the beams of scaffolds and the number of hapless victims who thereon gasped their last; as though the bare word of an executioner is evidence sufficient to convict and punish men accused of crime.

This is a case where the prosecution, in the name of the people of the States of Colorado and Idaho, has prostituted itself most shamefully in behalf of gigantic moneyed interests, to intimidate and crush a great labor organization, by accepting as gospel truth the awful charges of conspiracy and murder which the Pinkerton Agency has heaped mountain-high upon the Western Federation of Miners in general, and under which they hope, particularly, to bury and entomb Messrs. Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone.

In fine, this is a case of such surpassing interest that, regardless of the fact that it has not yet been tried, an analytical study of it will be of considerable value.

As the reader is aware, the mine owners of the State of Colorado, with the aid of Governor Peabody, succeeded in breaking the Cripple Creek and Telluride strikes; but they failed signally in all their attempts to land some of the leaders of the Federation in prison, on trumped-up charges and false confessions.

Again, as the reader will remember, Operative Riddell at Telluride, despite his "brilliant efforts," succeeded no better in finding the "Inner Circle" of the Western Federation of Miners, than did Ponce de Leon in discovering the magical Fountain of Youth. Both failed for the same reason; it is impossible to find that which does not exist. The only difference between these two men is, that while Ponce de Leon believed in the existence of the youth-restoring fountain, the Pinkerton Agency knew well enough that there was no such thing as an Inner Circle in the Federation; and Operative Riddell's absolute failure proves that the Agency deliberately fleeced the Telluride Mine Owners' Association, by virtue of the same reputation which is going to figure so prominently in the trial of Messrs. Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone.

One more episode we would request the reader to recall, is the Florence and Cripple Creek derailing case. During the progress of this trial it was proven conclusively that those guilty of the attempted crime were not the union leaders in the prisoners' dock, but the evidence pointed with almost absolute certainty to the mine owners' and railroad company's own detectives, Scott and Sterling, who accused them so boldly, and who hoped to secure a conviction on the strength of their reputation, and on the false confession of a gallows-bird, Charles McKinney, which confession was composed for him by the two detectives.

The Florence and Cripple Creek derailing case proves to what a very limited extent the reputations of detectives in the hire of magnates may be trusted. This affair bears such a close resemblance to the Moyer-Haywood-Pettibone case, in all its infamous details, that the latter case can be better followed by a clear understanding of the former trial.

The Florence and Cripple Creek case was a good case, or, rather, a good plot. The very simplicity of the proposed outrage made it seem plausible; but the conspiracy was exposed because of the foolhardy actions of Detectives Scott and Sterling.

In our opinion the Idaho case is also a plot, weaker than the Colorado conspiracy, albeit the Pinkerton Agency has done its level best to complicate it and throw a veritable cloud of mystery about it; and like the Florence and Cripple Creek conspiracy, this plot is also bound to fail, because of the bungling and unprofessional work of the famous Pinkerton detectives, who are playing a ridiculous part in this trial as did Detectives Scott and Sterling in the train derailing case.

As we have already seen, the real reason for the merciless war which the mine and smelter magnates waged against the Western Federation of Miners, was because this organization had in 1903 endorsed Socialism and decided to enter the field of politics. The mine owners hoped that they could check the growth of Socialism by crushing the Federation. But after the Colorado strikes were things of the past, it was evident to the mine owners that their work had been a failure, even as the repressive measures of kings and clergy in the Middle Ages proved futile, and only served to make men struggle all the harder for their principles and convictions.

The mine owners were smarting from the effects of the two-year struggle and looking for a chance to retaliate on the Federation. As all things come to those who wait, so the very opportunity for which the mine owners were hungering suddenly came, and they grasped it. This opportunity was the assassination of ex-Governor Frank Steunenberg, of Idaho.

On the evening of December 30th, 1905, Mr. Steunenberg was almost instantly killed while entering his home in the suburbs of Caldwell, Idaho. A dynamite bomb had been placed under the front gate of his house, and connected with it by some contrivance, so that when Mr. Steunenberg attempted to enter, the bomb exploded, and he was so mangled that he only survived the explosion by fifteen or twenty minutes.

The assassination of ex-Governor Steunenberg was an awful crime, and it was the duty of the Idaho authorities to discover the fiend who committed it, in order that he might be punished. But week after week went by, and the murderer of Idaho's former governor was still at large.

People began to forget the tragedy when suddenly, without any previous warning, the startling announcement was made on Sunday, February 18th, 1906, that President Charles H. Moyer, Secretary-Treasurer William D. Haywood and ex-Executive Board Member George A. Pettibone of the Western Federation of Miners had been arrested, and sent under heavy guard on a special train to Idaho, on the charge of having conspired against the life of Mr. Steunenberg. Interest in the case deepened when it was learned that Division Manager James McParland of Pinkerton's National Detective Agency, famous the universe over for his marvellous exploits among the Molly Maguires thirty odd years ago, had engineered the arrest of the leaders of the Federation, and would personally conduct the campaign against them.

Much has been said and written about Manager McParland and his wonderful achievements against the Molly Maguires, which resulted in the extermination of that gang of alleged cut-throats.

The Pinkerton Agency claims public consideration for a piece of detective work done over thirty years ago; and on the strength of the Molly Maguire operation has built up an edifice of slander, perjury, graft and treason, the outside walls of which structure are hidden from the public gaze by brilliantly-painted lettering proclaiming the fact that the Agency represents the American Bankers' Association, the Jewelers' Protective Union, the Jewelers' Security Alliance, and the Railway Ticket Protective Bureau.

By virtue of this optical illusion the credulous public still believes the Pinkerton Agency to be a wonderful crime-exterminating institution, and the Agency, taking a bold advantage of this credulity, now comes before the bar of public justice, and insolently demands that its bare word be taken as proof sufficient to send three men to the gallows and discredit and brand as criminals the tens of thousands who are members of the Western Federation of Miners.

We will not enter into any controversy regarding the guilt or innocence of the Molly Maguires, as that case has no connection with the case in hand. It is a ghastly skeleton which is constantly being dragged before the public to serve the mischievous ends of the Pinkerton Agency in the absence of anything else to show which would entitle them to a public hearing. We merely wish to state that James McParland worked among the Molly Maguires for three or four years before he secured the evidence which resulted in conviction. It is well for us to remember this fact, as well as the fact that when Mr. McParland worked on this case he was young and vigorous, and free from the hallucinations sure to plague a conscience so dreadfully outraged as his has been, in the many years that he has served the Pinkerton Agency. We must also bear in mind that Mr. McParland was in a peculiar position to obtain information and evidence, as for over three years he was himself a Molly Maguire and a leader among them at that.

It may not perhaps be very decent, even for detectives, to keep on pointing to the gibbets which they erected thirty years ago; but it is certainly good business policy to do so when those detectives have nothing else to point to. For this reason the Molly Maguires are still being tried and hanged, and the horrible tragedy is in this manner kept forever fresh in the memory of men. No matter what occurs, it is at once compared in one way or another with that long-decayed case. The Pinkerton Agency harps on ancient success and carefully conceals modern failure.

A man may be good in his youth, and drift into bad habits in later years.

And so it is with Pinkerton's National Detective Agency, the Molly Maguire operation, and the work of Manager James McParland. Be it admitted, for the sake of argument, that the Molly Maguires were a gang of cut-throats, assassins and dynamiters. Be it also admitted that James McParland was chiefly instrumental in ridding the community of this band of desperadoes, and that he generously and unselfishly risked his life in the performance of his duty. Let us freely grant that his work against the Molly Maguires was of such a high order, that both he and the Agency deserved the lavish praise which was showered upon them, and that in general the work of the Agency in this case was SO VERY GOOD, that they were fairly entitled to the enviable reputation for detective ability resulting therefrom.

There was once a soldier in the American Revolution. He materially assisted in the capture of Fort

Ticonderoga in 1775. He was severely wounded while gallantly leading an assault on the fortifications of Quebec, in 1776. He fought with such dare-devil bravery in the battle of Saratoga, in 1778, that no small portion of the credit for this important victory belongs to him. For more than five years he underwent all the hardships and privations of active field duty. During five years his gallant conduct endeared him to his brothers-in-arms and the country at large. This man forfeited name, honor and glory forever, on that day when he betrayed his country; and, his brilliant record notwithstanding, he is execrated by everyone to this day as *"Benedict Arnold the Traitor."*

It must be apparent to every intelligent person, that the record of Benedict Arnold, prior to his treason, is a chronicle so full of martial daring and brilliant achievements, that it is almost sacrilege to compare it with the puny Molly Maguire record of James McParland. Nevertheless, as an aid to establishing the truth, we will stretch a few points. Arnold became a traitor, and took the path leading to eternal infamy. James McParland, by virtue of his and the Pinkerton Agency's reputation, boldly marched along the road leading to affluence and fame, and for many years has assisted his Agency in committing a treason against their countrymen, which, in our opinion, is fully as black, damnable and dangerous, if not more so, than the treason which cost Benedict Arnold so dearly, but which, in the case of James McParland and Pinkerton's National Detective Agency, has yielded them both, name, fame, wealth and power.

And as Manager McParland and the Messrs. Pinkerton would undoubtedly feel hurt to hear such things as we have charged, without corroborative data, we shall proceed to complete the comparison between Benedict Arnold and the pack of heartless, conscienceless knaves who, in our day, under the title of Pinkerton's Agency, outrival in lawless acts and treacherous deeds against the people, the ill-starred traitor of the Revolution.

Manager McParland, as everyone knows, is the backbone of the prosecution in the Moyer-Haywood-Pettibone case; it would appear that it is solely due to his ingenious work that the State has been enabled to make a case against the union leaders. Manager McParland claims to have secured a confession from one Harry Orchard, in which confession Orchard charges himself with the assassination of ex-Governor Steunenberg, at the instigation and solicitation of Messrs. Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone of the Western Federation of Miners. In this confession Orchard also accuses Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone of a large number of other criminal acts.

Under the laws of Idaho, a person found guilty of being accessory to a murder is sentenced to death. That Manager James McParland knew of this law and was more than anxious to avail himself of it, can be gathered from the following statement which he gave out to the press a few days after Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone had been arrested:

> "The officers of the Western Federation of Miners, and those of the executive board, who are implicated in the secret designs of the leaders, will never leave Idaho alive.
>
> "Although they will not leave Idaho, I have information and proof of their connection with a dozen atrocious murders in Colorado that would hang them if they did.
>
> "I worked single-handed in the Molly Maguire case, and single-handed in this, and I know the ins and outs of both gangs. And let me tell you that the most fiendish work carried on by the Maguires was but child's play compared to the plots hatched by the officers of the Western Federation of Miners and carried into effect by their tools.
>
> "I felt it my duty, as a citizen of Colorado, to outroot this gang, and as such I undertook the work. These fellows thought that it was so long ago that I had broken up the Molly Maguires that I must now be in my dotage. They weren't afraid of me. But there is a weak spot in every wall, especially such a wall as that upon which the Western Federation was founded, and that weak spot I found.

"It will cost Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, and as many more their lives."

Since Manager McParland felt so *very positive* that he had discovered the weak spot of the Western Federation of Miners, and that the confession of Harry Orchard was *so very sure* to send Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone to the gallows, we are really at a loss to understand why Mr. McParland deliberately broke the law in arresting these men.

On Friday, February 16th, 1906, three deputy sheriffs arrived in Denver from Boise City with extradition papers for Messrs. Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone. They called on Governor McDonald on Saturday; and the successor of Governor Peabody, who at a subsequent date refused to extradite a negro who was wanted in Mississippi for assault and murder unless Mississippi would guarantee that negro a fair trial, had no hesitancy in signing away the liberty of three prominent labor leaders, and turning them over bound hand and foot, and with a gag in their mouths, to their most inveterate enemies, the Pinkerton Detective Agency.

The Idaho detectives, acting under the orders of Manager McParland, waited until late Saturday night, and at about the hour of midnight the men were seized and placed in the county jail. They were denied permission to notify friends or counsel of their arrest; indeed, it is but a sorry time to communicate with people after midnight. But, while the faithful friends of these men slept, the detectives, whose motto is that they never sleep, arranged with the Union Pacific Railroad Company for a special train, and at 5 o'clock Sunday morning, February 18th, 1906, Messrs Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone were on board this train and speeding toward Idaho. The special which carried these men had the right of way over every train on the road, the Limited Pacific trains, even, not excepted.

When the prisoners arrived in Idaho they were at once taken to the State penitentiary and not permitted to see anyone, nor was anyone permitted to see them.

The labor world was fairly staggered at the arrest of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, and a mighty cry went up from all parts of the country, protesting against the kidnapping of these men, for the only reason that they were leaders of a labor movement.

Governor McDonald of Colorado defended himself by saying that the extradition of these men was demanded by Governor Gooding of Idaho, and as the evidence against them seemed very strong, he signed the papers. It was not his business to notify the public of the proposed extradition, and he therefore kept the matter to himself.

The officials of the Denver County Jail claimed that the prisoners were given every opportunity to notify their friends of their arrest, but we need not stop to prove the falsity of this statement. The lie is apparent at one glance.

We have already told what Manager McParland had to say about the arrest of these men; namely, that they would hang.

Not one person connected with the prosecution would admit that Messrs. Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone had been kidnapped, as kidnapping is a crime against both the spirit and letter of the law.

Any citizen who is seized by superior force and restrained of his liberty without due process of law, and deported to other States or countries against his will and without a chance to appeal to a court of law for a hearing, is kidnapped, and the persons committing the deed are unquestionably kidnappers. Consequently, every person participating, either directly or indirectly, in the unlawful seizure and deportation of Messrs. Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone is a kidnapper, and eligible, on account of the success of the venture, to prison or to membership in any of the robber bands that abound in Greece and Turkey.

We charge that the arrest of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone was the result of a conspiracy between Governors Gooding of Idaho, and McDonald of Colorado. We also charge that the methods employed in railroading them out of the State of Colorado were in flagrant violation of law and justice. We further charge that these methods were invented and developed in the fertile brains of James McParland, and in conclusion we charge that the entire credit for the successful kidnapping of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone belongs to the chief engineer of the coup against the Western Federation of Miners, Division Manager James McParland, of the Pinkerton Agency.

We do not accuse Mr. McParland of having engineered the abduction of the union leaders, for the mere sake of being rude or unkind. Far from guessing, we base our charges on a similar attempt by the Pinkertons to railroad a man out of Colorado in the year 1903; and for the edification of the reader, we will briefly describe the attempt in question.

Some years ago, one Francis L. Burton had sued the New York Central Railroad for damages, for injuries he claimed to have received on their road. The company finally settled with Mr. Burton for $2,500, and the suit was dropped.

It then began to dawn upon the officials of the New York Central Railroad that they had been swindled by Mr. Burton, so they had him arrested on the charge of obtaining money under false pretenses. Mr. Burton furnished bond for his appearance at his trial and—disappeared. The railroad company put the Pinkertons on his trail, and after quite a search the Agency located him. He was found to be the manager of a mining and milling company at Dumont, a few miles from Idaho Springs, Colo. The Boston Police Department was notified, and two detectives, John R. McGarr and Thomas A. Sheehan, were sent to Denver with extradition papers.

As soon as Governor Peabody had signed the papers of extradition, the two Boston detectives, accompanied by Asst. Supt. H. Frank Cary, of the Denver Pinkerton Office, rode down to Dumont, and placed Mr. Burton under arrest. Their plan was to bring him into Denver, and then place him on an East-bound train, without giving him a chance to fight extradition by an appeal to the courts.

Had Mr. Burton's captors had the Molly Maguire experience of Manager McParland, we have no doubt that their plan would have carried; as it was, their inexperience caused their scheme to fail.

Mr. Burton was disagreeably surprised when he was arrested and told that he would be taken East that very day, and though he wished to fight extradition and present his case to a Colorado court, he saw that his captors would not permit him to do so. He pretended that he was resigned to his fate, and got permission to enter his private office for a minute to adjust a few little matters. Quickly availing himself of this momentary liberty, he called up Attorney Ralph Talbot, of Denver, on the long distance 'phone, told him of his predicament, and retained him as counsel. Mr. Talbot bade him rest easy, and at once took the matter in hand.

He at once called up Asst. District Attorney Smith, of Idaho Springs, on the long distance 'phone, and after retaining him on the case, instructed him to board the same train as the prisoner, and never to leave him out of his sight for a minute; and in case the detectives decided to take him to any other place than Denver, to 'phone or wire him at once, and follow the prisoner. Mr. Smith did as instructed.

Mr. Talbot then hastily made application for a Writ of Habeas Corpus, and soon he had the necessary papers signed by Judge Johnson of the West Side Court. He expected to serve these papers on the detectives when they arrived at the Denver Union Depot, and thus prevent them from railroading Mr. Burton out of the State.

But, somehow or another, the Denver Agency got wind of Mr. Talbot's doings, and wired Asst. Supt. Cary, care of the conductor of the train, that he should not come into Denver, but that he and his party must get off at Arvada, hire a rig, drive to Brighton, and at that point place the prisoner and the two Boston officers on the East-bound Union Pacific train. By this move the Agency expected to outwit Attorney Talbot.

Asst. Supt. Cary did as instructed, and Asst. District Attorney Smith, of Idaho Springs, promptly notified Mr. Talbot what the detectives were up to. Mr. Talbot thereupon hired a light rig, placed the legal papers in the hands of Deputy Sheriff Mahoney, and told him to drive at top speed and overtake the detectives and their prisoner. Mr. Cary had scarcely driven a mile before he was overtaken by Deputy Sheriff Mahoney and served with the order of the court.

This event occurred on Tuesday afternoon, August 4th, 1903.

We are not interested in the result of Mr. Burton's fight against extradition, but we are interested in the unlawful maneuvers of the Pinkerton Agency.

They claimed, in the case of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, that an emergency existed which justified them in thus secretly arresting and deporting them from the State. We really wonder what this emergency was. Did they fear that a Colorado court would refuse to extradite the union leaders on the strength of Orchard's confession and their decayed Molly Maguire reputation? What, then, if extradition were refused? Cannot a gallows be erected in the State of Colorado, in which State, according to Manager McParland's own words, he could hang them higher than Haman for the commission of fully a dozen atrocious murders?

And if Manager McParland could convict Messrs. Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone in their home State for the commission of *a dozen atrocious murders, why is it, we ask, that this arch-enemy of the Western Federation of Miners chose, instead, to kidnap these men on merely one charge, and that, not a direct charge of murder, but rather an indirect and hazy charge of conspiracy?* Is it possible that Mr. McParland is such a patriotic and public-spirited citizen of the State of Colorado that he would rather saddle the cost of an expensive trial on the State of Idaho?

As we know, Operative Riddell, No. 36, who worked for the Agency at Telluride, was the only operative who ever attempted, on behalf of the Pinkerton Institution and the Mine Owners' Association, to gather incriminating evidence against the Western Federation of Miners. His failure to discover anything was most signal. Consequently, Mr. McParland's statement about having information and evidence sufficient to hang Messrs. Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone for a dozen atrocious murders in Colorado is merely so much bluster, or, which is truer, it is a downright falsehood.

So far as the case of Burton is concerned, the reader can see for himself that the Pinkerton Agency, without any excuse whatever, did their best to prevent him from appealing for a hearing in a court of law, and they would have succeeded in their scheme, but for the alertness of Attorney Ralph Talbot, of Denver.

Taught by their failure to "make good" in the Burton case, more caution was employed in the case of the Federation leaders, and this time they were successful.

And now, let us for a moment stop to observe the tool of Manager McParland and the mine and smelter interests, Harry Orchard, whose confession is going to play such a prominent part in the trial of Messrs. Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone.

As Orchard's confession charges, and as Manager McParland would have us all believe, Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone not only had hired him to assassinate ex-Governor Steunenberg of Idaho, but had also commissioned him, on behalf of the Federation, to murder Justices Goddard and Gabbert of the Colorado Supreme Court and ex-Governor Peabody. In addition, Orchard's confession implicates the Federation officers with any number of other dreadful outrages and murders.

The reader remembers the degenerate Charles McKinney, who was the star witness of the prosecution in the Florence & Cripple Creek derailing case. As we have already stated, the present case is almost identical, in many of its details, with the Colorado case. The main difference is, that in this case the prosecution is fighting for far greater stakes.

Orchard may well be compared with McKinney, than whom he is craftier and baser. McKinney was a degenerate, mentally. Orchard is a degenerate, morally. The former scarcely realized what he was doing when he attempted to swear away the liberty of three men, while the latter, in the full possession of his senses (though it is lately reported that he is mentally weakening) has no scruple in attempting to swear away the lives of three innocent men. But the comparison does not end here. McKinney's mind was worked upon by Detectives Scott and Sterling of the Mine Owners' Association and the Florence & Cripple Creek Railroad, while Orchard, who is now the pliable tool of McParland, is believed, on pretty good grounds, to have been employed as a spy by these very same men during the Cripple Creek strike, in 1903-1904.

The Florence and Cripple Creek derailing case proved fairly what a precious pair of rascals Detectives Scott and Sterling were. It stands to reason that if Orchard learned his business under their tutelage, and to the best of our knowledge and information he did, then he must have graduated as a master-liar, perjurer and all-around villain; in fine, a fit tool to execute the plans and plots of the dean of black sleuthdom—James McParland.

In the Florence and Cripple Creek case the plot of the mine owners failed because of the gross carelessness of Detectives Scott and Sterling, and the too apparent degeneracy of their tool, McKinney.

In the Steunenberg case we find a somewhat different state of affairs, although the result is the same. Orchard, the conscience-struck, repentantly-confessing scoundrel, seems to stand pat. But James McParland, in his extreme anxiety to tie the noose securely around the necks of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, overreached himself so badly, that the entire plot of the Pinkerton Agency was laid bare. And now let us see how it came about that Manager McParland exposed his villainous duplicity in this case to an even greater extent than did Detectives Scott and Sterling in the Florence and Cripple Creek derailing case.

Mr. McParland has said, with reference to the Western Federation of Miners, "But there is a weak spot in every wall, especially such a wall as that upon which the Western Federation was founded, and that weak spot I found. It will cost Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone and as many more their lives."

With Mr. McParland's permission we will quote part of his statement for our own purpose and say. "But there is a weak spot in every wall, especially such a wall as that behind which a degenerate detective agency conspires against the lives of honest men, and upon which they then come out dressed in spotless white, to impress the people with their surpassing virtue." That weak spot we find, and the entire world finds, in the persons of James McParland, and one Stephen Adams, a miner. This weak spot will help not a little in the disillusionment of the people, we sincerely hope.

Manager McParland knew well enough that the confession of Orchard, of itself, would not be sufficient to hang Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone. It therefore became imperative that another person be found, who could be persuaded, by fair means or by foul, to corroborate and confirm the story of Orchard. Such a person Mr. McParland believed to have found in Stephen Adams.

Adams had been a miner for many years, and at one time had been a member of the Western Federation. For several months prior to the assassination of Mr. Steunenberg he had been living with an uncle, on the latter's ranch in Oregon. It was on this ranch that he was located and arrested by detectives from Idaho on Feb. 20th, 1906, on the charge of having participated in the murder of Idaho's ex-governor; and without troubling about extradition papers the detectives brought him to Boise City, where he was at once taken to the penitentiary and thrown into a solid steel cell with Harry Orchard.

As Adams had been removed from Oregon without extradition papers, and as his confinement in the Idaho State Penitentiary was kept secret, his friends had no idea what had become of him.

But on March 2nd, 1906, not a little excitement was caused when the startling announcement was made public that Manager McParland had secured a confession from Stephen Adams which corroborated in every detail the confession of Harry Orchard. The attorneys and friends of Messrs. Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone certainly must have been taken aback at this latest success of the prosecution; and, to be sure, things were beginning to look rather gloomy for the union leaders.

According to the best information obtainable at that time, Manager McParland admitted that Steve Adams had made a startling confession, and that this statement corroborated Orchard's confession in all particulars. This incident created much talk and feeling, and proved that Manager McParland intended to push the case against the Federation leaders to the bitter end. Many people who had at first refused to believe in the guilt of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone now became inclined to side with the prosecution, and the cause of the miners seemed to be on the wane. However, organized labor, the country over, stood as a unit in their unshakable belief in the innocence of the accused men.

Thus Spring and Summer came and went, without anything new having transpired in connection with this case; but the early days of Fall brought forth sensations of such a totally unexpected character, that even the most indifferent people suddenly took notice.

The first sensation was a statement signed by Stephen Adams and witnessed by his wife, who sumggled it out of the penitentiary and made it public on Saturday, September 8th, 1906, and which we quote:

> Boise, Idaho, September 8th, 1906.
>
> This is to certify that the statement that I signed was made up by James McParland, detective, and Harry Orchard, alias Tom Hogan. I signed it because I was threatened by Governor Gooding, saying I would be hanged if I did not corroborate Orchard's story against the officers of the Federation Union of Miners.
>
> STEPHEN ADAMS.
>
> Witness: ANNIE ADAMS.

Simultaneously with the above eloquently suggestive statement, came the announcement that the attorneys for the Western Federation of Miners had made application for a writ of habeas corpus for Adams, and that Adams would be an important witness for the defense. But of greater interest was the following story of Stephen Adams, when he was brought into court to plead for his liberty:

> "I had not been in the penitentiary but a few days, until I was persuaded into admitting the truth of some of the statements by Orchard in his confession to McParland, first, by threats of the Governor that there was a mob waiting to hang me in Colorado, where they would send me if I did not do as they demanded, and second, because I was promised to go clear if I followed directions.
>
> "After I had been in jail about three weeks, Thiele, a Pinkerton detective, was sent to my place in Oregon and brought back my wife and two children, confining them in the female ward of the penitentiary, and where I was permitted to live part of the time.
>
> "Last June I was asked if I knew a certain location near Telluride, being a spot designated by Orchard as being the burying place of a man named Barnum, said to have been killed there. I said I did, and was then informed that I was to go down and pick out the place.
>
> "The detective took me in a wagon across the country to the siding called Orchard Station, where I was put on the train. Adjutant General Bulkley Wells and Deputy Sheriff Bob Meldrum of Colorado took charge of me, and we went to Telluride, remaining there three days. I found

the place described, but there was no grave. I think they expected to find some evidence against Vincent St. John, but after staying there three days I was returned to Idaho and put back in the penitentiary.

"During the time my wife has been in the penitentiary we have been held and treated the same as convicts. We were not allowed to see anyone unless a guard was present, and we had to give the letters we wrote to the warden, unsealed. Letters addressed to my wife were opened and read by the warden before delivered to her.

"Last Monday J. W. Lillard came to me and I asked him to get me some lawyers who would secure my release. I gave him written authority to act, and he secured Ex-Governor Morrison, Clarence Darrow and John F. Nugent, the last two being attorneys for Moyer and Haywood. They brought the application for Habeas Corpus, and yesterday afternoon I was called on by Mr. Hawley, the chief counsel for the prosecution. Hawley urged me not to see any lawyer, and tried to induce me to sign a statement discharging the attorneys employed by my uncle. This I refused to do.

"Hawley said: 'There is nothing against you, Steve. You are not held as a prisoner.' I then asked if I could leave the penitentiary. He said, no; so I waited to see my lawyers.

"After they left, the deputy warden had me taken to the cell formerly occupied by Bond, who was hanged three weeks ago, and after being stripped and searched, I was locked up.

"I was glad I had given my wife the statement to take away with her when she was permitted to leave the penitentiary, for when I was taken to a murderer's cell, I was afraid something would happen to me."

Previous to discussing the statements of Steve Adams, which certainly have an important bearing upon the Moyer-Haywood-Pettibone case, we should state that the court held that he was unlawfully restrained of his liberty and ordered his immediate release. However, the State was anxious to hide Adams from the attorneys for the defense, so they immediately re-arrested him on the charge of having murdered Detective Lyte Gregory in Denver on May

5th, 1904. Subsequently this charge was dropped, and he was secretly removed by the prosecution to Wallace, Idaho, on the charge of having killed one Fred Tyler, in August, 1905. At his trial on this charge, which occurred in Wallace the latter part of February, 1907, he repeated the previously-quoted charges against Manager McParland, Governor Gooding, and the officials of the penitentiary, and very clearly proved his innocence of the murder of Fred Tyler. Strangely enough, however, his jury disagreed, and he will probably be tried again.

We now have all the data in this case before us ready for inspection and analysis.

Ex-Governor Steunenberg of Idaho was assassinated on December 30th, 1905.

Messrs. Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone were arrested for complicity in this outrage on February 17th, 1906, six weeks after the murder.

Manager McParland insists that he worked single-handed in this case, and we are willing to take his word for it.

Manager McParland further states "That the most fiendish work carried on by the Molly Maguires was but child's play compared to the plots hatched by the officers of the Western Federation of Miners and carried into effect by their tools."

Manager McParland may have exterminated the Molly Maguires single-handed, as he says, or he may have been assisted by others in this task; that is immaterial. What is material, is the fact that it took Mr. McParland at least three years to get damaging information against them. Now, then, if, as he claims, the most fiendish work of the Molly Maguires was but child's play as compared with the plots and outrages of the Federation, it follows that it should have taken a detective *fully as talented as Manager McParland at least three times as long to* *get at the innermost workings of this awful gang, as it took him to unravel the mysteries of the Molly Maguires. That is to say, it should have taken Manager McParland nine years to discover the alleged Inner Circle.*

But we are willing to concede that Manager McParland is entitled to a reasonable credit for his age and experience. In giving him this credit, however, we must hold him to his own words. Thus, if we concede, for the sake of argument, that he is a better detective to-day than he was thirty years ago, he must not deny that if, according to his words, the Western Federation are giants compared with the Molly Maguires, then, in an inverse ratio, his achievements against the Molly Maguires were but puny and trifling as compared with his exploits against the Western Federation of Miners. Since Manager McParland was a trusted Molly Maguire, it naturally follows, if our process of reasoning is correct, that if it took him three years to unearth the crimes of dwarfs and pigmies, that we are making him a very generous allowance for his increased detective ability when we insist that since he was not a trusted member of the Federation of Miners, that it should have taken him, even with expert assistance, at least one-third as long to get at the secrets of this gigantic gang of master criminals.

From our reasoning it follows that it should have taken Manager McParland at least one year of brilliant, unparalleled detective work to get even questionable evidence against the Western Federation of Miners. But Mr. McParland can do wonders when he tries, and it therefore seems that he succeeded in accomplishing a truly Herculean task in a paltry six weeks.

Of course, Mr. McParland's position would be utterly untenable in the face of these deductions. He therefore backs up his Moyer-Haywood-Pettibone conspiracy-murder-dynamite fairy tale with a most startling confession sworn to by Orchard, and witnessed by himself and sundry high officials of the State of Idaho.

Well and good. A confession is always an interesting document, particularly so in this case. And, with the theory of Manager McParland's wonderful detective ability exploded, it now behooves us to see what weight and importance, if any, should of right be attached to this document, which is the trump-card of the prosecution.

We are perfectly willing to believe that Orchard signed a confession badly implicating Messrs. Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone. The existence of such a confession is not the issue at stake, but rather whether the confession is true or false. To determine these facts, the following data should be taken into consideration:

Harry Orchard, the alleged author of the famous confession, as far as we know, was employed as a spy during the Cripple Creek strike by Detectives Scott and Sterling of Florence & Cripple Creek Railroad derailing fame.

In his confession, Orchard implicated Adams in the Steunenberg assassination, which gave the prosecution a chance to arrest Adams and bring him to Boise City, Idaho. When Adams was brought to the penitentiary, he was placed in the same cell with Orchard. And here the plot of the Agency becomes noticeable.

As a matter of fact and truth, Adams did not participate in the Steunenberg tragedy, and had no intention on earth of confessing to anyone that he did. It was also far from his mind to implicate others in a crime of which he knew nothing. Yet Harry Orchard, Manager McParland, Governor Gooding of Idaho, and the warden of the Idaho State Penitentiary did their best to induce him to make a false confession, and thus become a perjurer and murderer. As Adams refused to become a scoundrel, notwithstanding that the Governor of Idaho threatened to turn him over to a Colorado mob if he remained obdurate, the above guardians of the public morality and safety took a step unparalleled save in the annals of the Dark Ages. They incarcerated Adams' wife and children in the penitentiary, and held them there the same as convicted felons, in order that for the sake of his family Adams might agree to become the hangman of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone.

Adams was unable to withstand the awful pressure, and permitted McParland to compose a confession for him, which he signed. Mr. McParland now had two confessions, and in his mind he was already witnessing the execution of the hated Federation chiefs.

We do not know how Mr. McParland felt after Adams told his pitiful story, nor do we know how he will get around Adams' real confession. But we do know that if Adams had remained true to the prosecution, Manager McParland would have sworn by all the Saints and even by his Molly Maguire reputation, that the confession of Adams was the Gospel, hanging truth, and on the strength of Orchard's confession and Adams' corroborative statements he would have demanded a conviction.

Manager McParland was willing to have the world believe the word of Adams, when he thought that this word would help convict the Federation leaders.

If Adams' word was truthful enough for the prosecution, who offered him liberal rewards for his confession—it is doubly truthful and convincing when he voluntarily tells the world, without hope or prospect of reward, that he and the Federation leaders are innocent of wrong-doing, and that the confession which he signed, implicating himself and others in the assassination of Ex-Governor Steunenberg, was wrung from him by a cruel and long-continued process of mental and physical torture.

If Adams' word suited Manager McParland because that word would help send three innocent men to a shameful death, then that same word is doubly and trebly acceptable to a just and intelligent world, when it points a sternly-accusing finger at Manager McParland and his associates, and charges them with crimes even worse than murder.

In fine, if Adams' word was good enough to enable the law to take three lives, it is a thousand times better when it enables the world to tear the mantle of virtue from the shoulders of scoundrels.

Admitting, therefore, the undeniable truth of Adams' charges against Manager McParland and the prosecution, it follows that a critical inspection of Orchard's confession should bring interesting developments to light.

Orchard apparently was a spy in the employ of Detectives Scott and Sterling during the Cripple Creek strike. Orchard is a bad man. His reputation is not improved by the fact that he helped Manager McParland torture Adams into making a false confession.

According to Mr. McParland's own estimate of the ability and shrewdness of the leaders of the Federation, Moyer and Haywood certainly ought to have known that Orchard was a spy for Detectives Scott and Sterling during the Colorado strikes.

That this knowledge would necessarily preclude the barest possibility of friendly relations between Orchard and the officials of the Federation, is a truth which even McParland cannot get around.

It follows that if there could be no friendly, let alone confidential relations between the Federation and Orchard, that the latter's confession must be false from the beginning until the end.

His confession being false, we can readily understand the desperate efforts of the prosecution to secure a corroborative confession, and we can also easily perceive why Orchard helped Manager McParland so zealously to torture Adams into signing a false statement. We also believe we are striking the nail squarely on the head when we now charge that Orchard's confession was composed for him in its entirety by Manager McParland, and is as false in all its infamous details as the confession which he composed for Stephen Adams. The only difference is that Adams' honesty triumphed over his fear of Idaho injustice, while Orchard is true to his evil reputation, and prefers to remain a blackguard and well-protected tool.

In view of our analysis, the sum total of our deductions is that Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone are not being prosecuted but persecuted.

The only real achievement of Manager McParland against the Western Federation of Miners was the kidnapping of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone. All his subsequent talk of what he did and intended to do, is merely so much brag.

The confession of Orchard is a document which has no more claim to truth than have Harry Orchard, James McParland, Governor Gooding and ex-Governor McDonald to decency and respectability. And to perfect the claims of these distinguished gentry to all the honors due such a precious crew of villains, we refer them to the disclosures of their unfortunate victim, Stephen Adams.

Since our analysis is not based on theory, but upon facts, we confidently believe that the trial of this case of right should result in the acquittal of Messrs. Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone.

Some of our so-called conservative American newspapers have bitterly deplored the radical attitude, charges and statements of the friends of the defense, which, in the opinion of these conservative mouthpieces of reaction, tend to cast serious reflections on American justice, and which are merely harmful efforts to prejudge the case in favor of the accused men.

We also believe in being conservative, but logically so. And since the prosecution has done its level best for over a year to secure false evidence, arouse a hostile public sentiment and prejudge the case in favor of the mine owners' side of the contention, we cannot see that the friends of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone are doing anything more than their duty in giving this case the greatest possible publicity, in order to insure fair play at the approaching trial.

But we will finish our comparison between the traitors of our day and the traitor of the Revolution.

Arnold, as we all know, only *planned* treason. A just Providence frustrated his terrible projects. But that the intention was as bad as the deed is definitely settled by the place which Arnold occupies in history.

Pinkerton's National Detective Agency is a veritable traitor factory; the biggest of its kind in the world. The traitors it turns out are not, as yet, military traitors, to be sure. But, is there then any difference between one brand and another?

Is military law the highest law? Is it military law which makes our country so strong and great? Or is it not, rather, the individual honor and integrity of our citizens which is the real life of the nation? And if this is so, we ask: If treason to the uniform is such a dreadful crime, is not treason against the public honesty and morality a greater crime? Or is treason against the public honesty and morality no crime simply because there is no penalty prescribed for it as in the case of treason against the uniform?

And if it is conceded that the virtue of the public mind is a greater factor in advancing the strength and prosperity of our country than the military law (which is only created for the purpose of protecting the former), we ask, how can a man, who is false to his brothers in time of peace, be trusted in an army to defend them in time of war?

Are we making too fine a distinction? No, we don't think so! We hold that a man who will break his oath and word of honor to a union, for eighteen dollars a week and expenses, will not scruple to betray his brothers-in-arms to an enemy for a greater amount of money.. Once a man has been taught to break his oath and word for a money consideration, he is a menace to the community in time of peace, and a positive danger in time of war.

There are many detective agencies who are manufacturing traitors, but Pinkerton's National Detective Agency is the pioneer in this business, and has a bigger output than all the other agencies in the United States put together.

Why do we denounce a dead traitor and in the same breath honor a worse live one? Why do we revile a dead traitor, who only planned mischief, and allow ourselves to be blinded by this far more dangerous gang of live scoundrels, who for years have been and still are engaged in the active exercise of their dastardly treason? Why should we execrate a dead traitor, about whom there are at least some noble, redeeming features, when we have nothing but praise for an Agency that is corrupting thousands and tens of thousands of our young men, robbing them of their honor and their country of honest citizens?

Is not the treason of Pinkerton's National Detective Agency against our individual honesty, collective integrity and national morality far blacker, fouler and much more dangerous to progress and civilization than the treason of Benedict Arnold in 1780?

The main question is, how long will the betrayed majority of workingmen in the United States submit to an underhanded tyranny that cheats them of their rights as citizens and makes them impotent before the will of a few? The cunning that represses free speech and liberty is not the statesmanship to preserve a republic.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES VS. PINKERTON'S NATIONAL DETECTIVE AGENCY.

No one has any just ground for complaint against detectives, public or private, so long as they confine themselves solely to detecting crime and criminals. Labor detectives are SO in name only; but as, in reality, they are merely perjured and treacherous spies, they should not be tolerated in an honest community.

Is it the tool who sells his soul for eighteen dollars a week and expenses, who is most to blame? Or should we not rather hold that person as principally guilty, who persuades him to make this shameful barter?

So we say: We do not blame the labor detective any the less for being a knavish wretch, but we blame the institution all the more which makes him one. And in directing our statements against Pinkerton's National Detective Agency, we also refer to all similar institutions.

Volumes could be filled with the charges which the Pinkerton Agency has made against the "Inner Circle" of the Western Federation of Miners. True, we have proven that this infamous lie originated in the brain of Manager James McParland; and we have also proven that there is no more truth in this slanderous accusation than there is in the most impossible tale in the Arabian Nights.

But, we have often wondered, where did Manager McParland get this "Inner Circle" idea? What suggested to his mind even the possibility of the existence of such a secret murder-hatching committee? And after devoting considerable thought to this somewhat intricate question, we have arrived at a conclusion which we believe is correct, and which we hope will enlighten Manager McParland to quite an extent in regard to the workings of his brain.

Although the Pinkerton Agency is divided into twenty branches, nevertheless the entire business is run by seven men: two principals, one general manager, one assistant general manager, and three division managers. These seven men dictate the policy of the Agency, and keep the innumerable wheels of the entire plant going full speed; and as without their knowledge and consent no subordinate official of the Agency can make a single move, it naturally follows that these seven men are, without the slightest shadow of a doubt, responsible for everything done in the name of the institution.

Division Manager McParland is one of the seven men that run the Pinkerton Agency. All correspondence on matters of importance is discussed with the greatest precaution and secrecy by these men, and only after they have decided definitely on any measure, do they give their orders and instructions to subordinates or tools, to carry out their wishes. So secret and hidden are the consultations of these seven men that some of the things they know will perhaps never be retold to anyone this side of the grave.

Manager McParland is so used to this method of doing business that he simply cannot understand any other system; and no doubt, the consciousness of the power which he shares with his six associates was deeply, even if unbeknown to him, lodged in his mind.

So, then, it came about, that when Manager McParland decided to exterminate the Western Federation of Miners, and was looking around for the best means with which to accomplish his purpose, all his thoughts became concentrated on the officers and leaders of the miners' union.

By reflex action, a picture of how he himself and six associates secretly ran the infamous business of Pinkerton's National Detective Agency, which picture had lain for years in his brain like an undeveloped film, suddenly took shape, and was thrown considerably magnified on the canvas of his fertile imagination, so that he beheld seven men secretly plotting mischief and directing infamies of the worst character. And his thoughts were so forcibly concentrated on the leaders of the Miners' union that instead of recognizing in this picture William A. Pinkerton, Robert A. Pinkerton, George D. Bangs, Young Allan Pinkerton, John Cornish, Edwards S. Gaylor and himself, he fancied he beheld Charles H. Moyer, William D. Haywood and the different members of the Executive Board of the Western Federation of Miners.

Without stopping to examine into things, Manager McParland promptly condemned the men he fancied he saw on the picture as a gang of conspirators, and named them the "Inner Circle." How little he realized that in doing so he was condemning himself and his six associates, and how little did he dream that the name which he intended should be a reproach to the officers of the Western Federation of Miners would be correctly and properly applied to the management of Pinkerton's National Detective Agency!

Manager McParland may perhaps scoffingly remark that our analysis of the workings of his brain is in itself a fantasy. But we urge Manager McParland to accept our conclusions as final. For, if we are wrong, then he defamed the officers of the Western Federation of Miners knowingly, and in the full possession of his senses, by branding them as a murderous Inner Circle, without an iota of evidence, and merely for the malicious satisfaction of harming a labor organization.

But the Inner Circle of Pinkerton's National Detective Agency is a reality, and we have, in the preceding chapters, given the reader a fair idea of the mischief which this Inner Circle plots and executes with the assistance of unscrupulous tools throughout the length and breadth of the United States.

It is also a fact that this Inner Circle is aware that there is a steadily-growing public sentiment against it and its labor-hounding business. And it is a further fact that this Inner Circle, about four or five years ago, issued instructions to every branch superintendent of the Agency to subscribe for the daily newspapers published in the different State capitals, and to scan these papers carefully during sessions of the legislatures, for the purpose of discovering if adverse detective agency legislation was contemplated. In case such legislation is attempted, we have no doubt the Inner Circle of the Agency will attempt to combat it, or render it nugatory.

The Inner Circle of the Pinkerton Agency knows well enough that the people of this country have no grievance against legitimate detectives. But they also know that the people do have a serious grievance against blackguards; and by preparing, years in advance, to fight expected adverse legislation, the Inner Circle of Pinkerton's National Detective Agency tacidly admit their guilt and the guilt of their institution.

We believe that in the name of progress, justice and a common brotherhood, both the Federal Congress and the different State legislatures should adopt such laws as will put an end to the rapidly-growing evil of the labor-spy trade.

Our story is ended. We have written it in the interest of justice, for the welfare of the American people.

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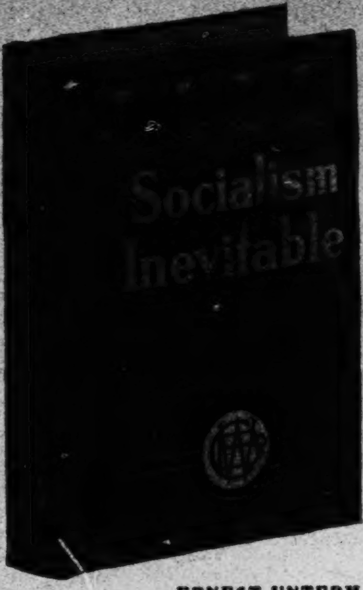

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I heartily agree with every statement of principle which you make. There are some places where I might get up a discussion with you, but none of them concern the crux of your whole work, the Trust problem, they are side issues or minor points. Fundamentally we are agreed not only on matters of Socialist economics, but also on matters of wider Socialist philosophy. Your position on the Trust problem is in perfect agreement so far as the outcome is concerned, with Marxian economics, and even in the explanation of the causes of the accumulation of capital you are in accord with Marx, only that Marx goes more deeply into the mechanism of capitalist accumulation.

EUGENE V. DEBS.

My Dear Wilshire:—Let me thank you right heartily for the splendid volume of "Wilshire Editorials" which came in my absence, and which I shall read with interest and preserve with pleasure.

These are busy days, but I note that you are keeping well up in the procession. You are sending out a vast amount of good stuff, and I hope your rapid-firing machinery will increase in capacity and keep in good working order. I send love and greeting.

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